THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

JULY 1957

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THE FOUNDATION
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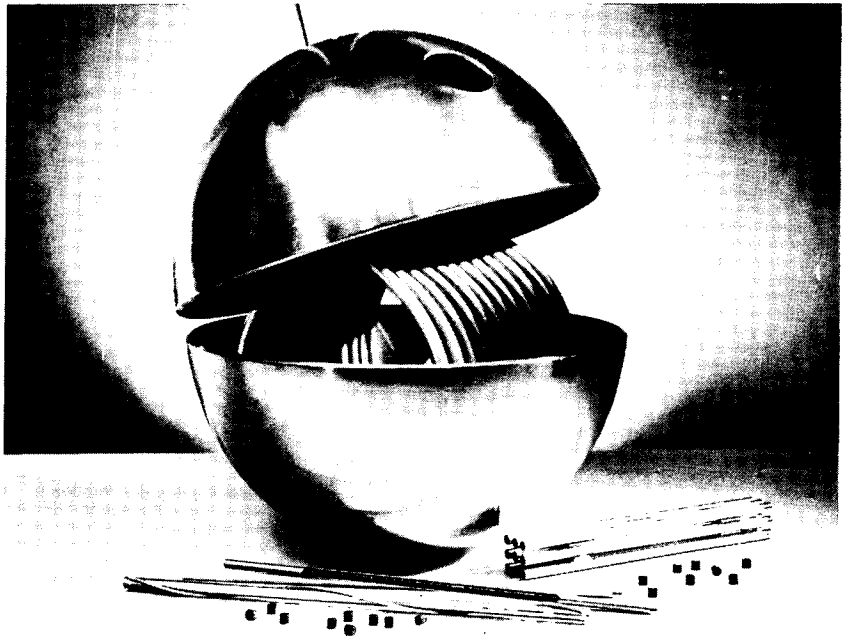

The sphere above is a "core" for one kind of research atomic reactor. The metal tubes are test containers for the small uranium fuel pellets for other reactors.

Strange new "tools" of atomic-electric power

These are some of the strange new "tools" used to produce, test, or experiment with atomic-electric power. They are among the things that will help bring electricity from the atom.

"Tools" like these are being used in developing several atomic-electric plants now under way. A number of electric light and power companies from many parts of the country are working with each other and with equipment manufacturers and the Atomic Energy Commission to develop the plants.

America's independent electric light and power companies produce more electricity than any other nation, and they have helped develop ways to produce it more efficiently year after year. That's why you can expect electric companies to continue to do their part to advance the new science of producing electricity from the atom.

America's Independent Electric Light and Power Companies*

**Company names on request through this magazine*

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Railway Express Agency Reports to the Public

We regret exceedingly the inconvenience to our customers and to the general public occasioned by the strike of the Teamster Unions at Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Newark, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco and several smaller points near some of those cities which has made it impossible to render normal express service to and from those points since April 22, 1957. We are grateful for your considerate understanding of the situation.

We would like you to know that historically wages and working conditions of Railway Express employes have followed those in the railroad industry of which they are a part. The railroads and the labor unions representing about 1,000,000 employes negotiated a three-year contract effective November 1, 1956 under the auspices of the National Mediation Board. Similar contracts were negotiated by the Railway Express Agency and three labor unions representing express employes (about 90% of the total) other than those represented by the Teamsters.

The Teamsters refused to accept our offer based on those settlements and threatened to strike. President Eisenhower appointed an Emergency Fact-Finding Board which considered every phase of the dispute in hearings that lasted three weeks. That Board in its report to the President of the United States on March 21, 1957 recommended that the settlement negotiated for railroad and the other express employes be applied to the employes in this dispute.

The settlement proposed for the Teamsters consists of a three-year contract, effective November 1, 1956, which includes a wage, health and welfare "package" of 29¢ per hour, plus a cost of living escalator clause providing for semi-annual adjustment that has already produced an additional 3¢ per hour effective May 1, 1957.

The Railway Express Agency accepts in full the recommendations of the President's Emergency Fact-Finding Board but the Teamsters (International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America —Dave Beck, General President) insist on more favorable treatment than that accorded all other express employes. They still persist in striking our operations and closing them down at the points mentioned.

It is to be hoped that the Teamster Unions will soon reconsider their position and accept the recommendations of the President's Emergency Board so that our service can be fully restored.

It is also hoped by the time this advertisement is read the strike will be over; in any event, we wanted you, the reader, to know about the circumstances involved.

Railway Express Agency, Inc.

RAILWAY EXPRESS AGENCY

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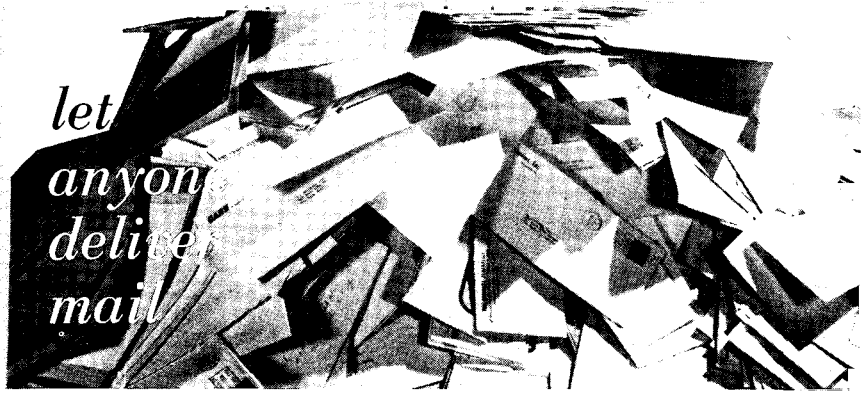

A. Devaney, Inc.

LEONARD E. READ

A recent widely read article nicely summarizes the growing criticism of the United States Post Office.[1] Among its interesting observations:

1) *It uses the same methods of gathering, sorting, and delivering the mail that it did* 100 years ago.
2) The mail is slower than it was before World War II.
3) A letter often takes 48 hours to travel 100 miles.
4) The Post Office is floundering in a sea of mail that gets deeper every year.
5) The Post Office is spending two million dollars a day more than it receives in revenue.

ALMOST ALL PROPOSALS for solving this generally acknowledged bureaucratic failure are predicated on government's remaining in the mail business, this premise being no more questioned than government's running the constabulary. Proposed solutions range all the way from getting a new Postmaster General to appropriating millions of dollars for research, all aimed at making a government business efficient.

The reason that most people assume mail delivery to be a proper function of government is not difficult to find. At our nation's outset, the most respected of American political instruments, *The Constitution of the U.S.A.*, proclaimed: "The Congress shall have power . . . to establish Post Offices. . . ."[2] The Congress exercised this power. There are now 38,316 Post Offices.[3]

But Congress went further than the permissibility granted by the Constitution. Congress outlawed competition. Congress declared mail delivery a government monopoly. No one, today, may carry mail for pay except on a subcon-

[1]"Our Horse and Buggy Mails" by Wolfgang Langewiesche, *Reader's Digest*, May 1957.

[2]Article I, Section 8.

[3]Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1956. Page 518.

Mr. Read is President of the Foundation for Economic Education.

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tract arrangement with Uncle Sam. Mail is the government's business – period!

When any activity has been monopolized for years, persons with entrepreneurial aptitudes rarely think of it as an opportunity for private enterprise. A field monopolized by government soon becomes both an "untouchable" and an "unthinkable." Thus, everyone – almost – assumes the mail business to be proper government business.

Disconcerting Questions

Almost! Now and then, however, there are individuals who question the generally accepted premise. Their reasoning goes something like this: Don't we deliver more pounds of milk every morning than we do mail? Isn't milk more perishable than a love letter or a catalogue or an appeal for funds or a picture magazine or an entertainment journal? Isn't milk delivery more prompt, more efficient, lower priced than mail delivery? Why shouldn't men in the market place – acting privately, competitively, voluntarily, cooperatively – deliver mail? They deliver freight, which is heavier.

What causes people to conclude that the type of enterprisers who get gas out of the earth in Texas and pipe it to millions of homes in far off states can't deliver mail? Men freely and voluntarily organized in the market place have found ways to send the human voice around the world in less than a second. They have built winged things that will transport more than a hundred human beings from Seattle to Baltimore in less than four hours. And, they deliver each four pounds of oil from the Persian Gulf to our Atlantic Seaboard – halfway around the world – for less than the fee to get a one-ounce, first-class letter delivered from Irvington to adjacent Tarrytown. While this last comparison has elements of unfairness in it, this example of free market oil delivery, on a weight-distance-time basis, wins against this example of mail delivery by more than 10,000 to 1!

Government's Best

Now let's load a comparison heavily in favor of government mail delivery. The fastest mail service is an airmail letter. With the best of luck a letter posted in Irvington at 5:00 p.m. could be in the hands of an addressee in Los Angeles 40 hours later, and for six cents. Now, consider the incomparably more complex problem of a personal conversation with the same Angelino. He can be reached and a three-minute talk-fest completed in four minutes, and for $3.50 (less the government excise

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tax). On a time-cost basis the fee for the government letter is 870 per cent more than the fee for the private enterprise conversation!

Why do any of us, in the light of overwhelming evidence on every hand, cling to the notion that a letter can be delivered only by a governmental agency? Instead, we should marvel that people in government are able to deliver the mail at all; not because they are untalented, but simply because of the manner in which they are organized to do the job.

What Would You Do?

Suppose you were asked to head a business – one of the largest in the world – one in which you were wholly inexperienced and to which you had given no thought. Next, assume that a substantial part of your key personnel had to be selected on the basis of political preferment. And, finally, imagine that the income of the business depended not on willing exchanges in a free market but on appropriations made to your business by two directorates, of 96 and 435 members respectively, all being unlike-minded individuals with their own political fortunes more in mind than the business you have been given the responsibility of running. With responsibility and authority so completely unrelated, and with the other aforementioned conditions as obstacles, what kind of a performance do you think *you* could turn in?

And, consider this supposition. Suppose, a century ago, that the Post Office – headed, manned, and organized as above – had been

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given a monopoly of all transportation and all communication. What, today, would be the shape of trains, trucks, planes, telephones, wireless? Is there any reason to believe that there would have been any progress in these technologies? "It [the Post Office] uses the same methods of gathering, sorting, and delivering the mail that it did 100 years ago." What reason is there to suspect that all transportation and all communication wouldn't be at the same stage as 100 years ago?

The fact that the Constitution empowered Congress to put the government in the postal business does not make it right. The same Constitution condoned slavery. Nor is government postal service justified by the dangerous and popular notion that government should do for the people that which they cannot or will not do for themselves. If this were a sound rule, then anything the government ever attempted would become a proper government function simply because most people give up – realizing the futility of trying to compete with the tax collector.

The Difference Is Force

To decide for one's self what government should and should not do, it is only necessary to appreciate how persons in government differ from themselves when not in government. Government is society's agency of force and the persons in its employ are a part of the compulsive apparatus. Omit force and each government employee is restored to private status. Without force, there is no distinction.

If force is the only distinguishing characteristic of those in government, then we should examine into the nature of force to determine for ourselves what government should and should not do. Thus, we should ask, what is the nature of coercive force? What accomplishment is peculiar to it?

Coercive force can be symbolized by the fist, the policeman's club, the gun. What can a gun do? It can penalize. It can inhibit. It can destroy. The next relevant question is, what ought to be penalized, inhibited, destroyed? In terms of man's relationship to man, violence certainly qualifies. So does fraud, misrepresentation, and predatory practice. Coercive force, then, may properly be employed to penalize, inhibit, and destroy violence, fraud, misrepresentation, and predation.

Or, examine "where to draw the line" between government and free market operations by the moral approach: Man's energies are manifested destructively and creatively. Any person has a moral

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right to inhibit the destructive action of another aimed at himself. But no person has a moral right to forcibly direct or control what another shall create, invent, or discover, where he shall work, how long he shall labor, what his wage shall be, or what and with whom he shall exchange. No one person has such a right. Nor do 170,000,000 persons, or any of their agents, have such a right.

The Duty of Government

Government, in good theory, and on moral grounds, has a right to inhibit the destructive actions of anyone menacing our society. Government has no grounds for forcibly directing or controlling the creative actions of anyone.

Delivering mail qualifies as a creative activity just as does delivering milk or any other form of communication and transportation. The proper part for government, in relation to this activity, is to protect honest enterprise against violence, fraud, misrepresentation, predation. In earlier history the sheriff and other parts of the constabulary tried to protect the Wells Fargo Express against highwaymen. Private enterprise carried the mails; government protected the enterprise. That was at once the theoretically sound and practical relationship of the two.

Force Maintains Inefficiency

Government establishments are ill-suited to perform a creative function. They are improperly organized for that. They can, however, use coercive force, which they are now doing with respect to the postal business in these two ways:

1. Force is used to keep private enterprise from carrying the mails, to maintain government's monopoly. Try delivering mail for pay and see what happens.

2. Force is used to collect the deficits which the government monopoly incurs. Try not paying your taxes if you wish to experience the force.

Deficits are incurred for numerous reasons. One, of course, is because mail delivery, a creative enterprise, requires, for efficiency, the organization of men along voluntary, competitive lines; and the very nature of government organization forbids this. Inefficiency is inevitable.

Government ownership and control of the means of production is socialism. The socialistic principle requires the communalization or communizing of the product. We observe this when those who are expensive to serve are charged the same rate as those who are inexpensive to serve. There isn't any more reason for subsidizing mail delivery to a person far away from

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the Post Office than for subsidizing clothing delivery to such a person.

Think of an idea more preposterous than this: The textile manufacturers, for example, are to organize themselves into a pressure group with the sole purpose of forcing cotton farmers to sell their cotton to them at one-tenth the price they can obtain in the market! Crazy? Yes, as unjust as trying to force you to labor for them for free. Yet, this type of plunder, impossible in a free market, is precisely what happens when government is in the mail business. The personnel of the postal establishment are powerless against such special privilege, for they receive their running orders – rate structure and other detailed specifications – from a political directorate that bends to pressure groups. The Post Office is a branch of a political, not an economic, organization. There are, indeed, reasons for deficits.

Illustrations? Well, if *The Freeman* were sold on a straight subscription basis, we could send it to you under a Second Class Mail Permit for as little as one-fourth of a cent per copy. But as a "controlled circulation" publication (not all paid subscribers), the postage runs as much as 600 per cent more per copy. Prosperous magazines, with circulation in the millions, hold Second Class Permits, with delivery at least as punctual as for first-class mail.

In good American political theory the government has no right to use taxpayers' money to prolong the life of a failing enterprise. Nor is there any justification for pouring millions of taxpayers' dollars into the coffers of successful publishing corporations. There is no reason why taxpayers should be compelled to subsidize the delivery of *The Freeman* or *The Daily Worker* or anything that lies between these ideological opposites. There is no more reason for tax subsidized delivery of any book or magazine or newspaper or catalogue than there is for subsidized delivery of corn flakes. Why is it done? Simply because mail delivery is handled by a political establishment which is incapable of resisting political pressure.

Simple Solution

The solution is simple enough, and consists of two moves:

1. Let the Congress repeal the monopoly now granted to the government, thus permitting anyone to deliver mail for pay who wishes to do so, as unrestricted as milk or grocery delivery.

2. Let the Congress appropriate no more money to the Treasury for Post Office Department use and insist that the accounting be

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on a basis comparable to private enterprise accounting, to include rentals, taxes, and so on, thus requiring the Post Office Department to charge rates that will incur no deficits.[4]

If the above conditions are adopted, government operation of the mails will soon be a thing of the past. Beyond this I can no more make predictions than I could have made in 1900 about the shape of 1957 automobiles. What men will do when free to try is as mysterious and as unfathomable and as miraculous as all the ideas all Americans will have tomorrow and all the days after.

I sit at my dinner table in New York. The meat comes from Kansas; the salt from Michigan; the pepper from Singapore; the tea from Japan. The brown sugar from Louisiana and the kirschwasser from Switzerland are on a grapefruit from Florida, broiled in an oven made in Los Angeles, and heated with electricity generated in New York City from Pennsylvania coal. I cannot trace the magic of it all – how every item seems to be where I am when I want it. This phenomenon is so commonplace to the millions around this largest city of the world that hardly anyone ever thinks about it. They take this perfection for granted and raise their voices to high heaven only when a coercive force interferes, like a strike or a government control. Talk about delivery!

There isn't any argument for government in the mail business; there is only the clamor for the continuance of special privilege. This will cease when the free market is restored. The condition that prevails in the absence of special privilege is known as justice. Then, why not let anyone deliver mail? • • •

[4]The Congress, in 1956, in granting wage emoluments to postal employees, decreed that the increases could not be used for the purpose of establishing postal rates. This sort of "bookkeeping" would have to cease.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

The Mission of the Law

THE MISSION OF THE LAW is *not* to oppress persons and plunder them of their property, even though the law may be acting in a philanthropic spirit. Its mission is to protect persons and property.

The law cannot avoid having an effect upon persons and property; and if the law acts in any manner except to protect them, its actions then necessarily violate the liberty of persons and their right to own property.

FREDERIC BASTIAT, *The Law*, 1850.

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GOVERNED BY GOD

J. HOWARD PEW

THE FOUNDING FATHERS of the United States were students of history. They knew that every government throughout recorded history had eventually fallen into the absolute control of unprincipled men who enslaved the people, confiscated their property, and threw the objectors into jail.

They knew, too, that many of the great minds throughout the world had for thousands of years been pointing out that Divine Law, Moral Law, commonly called Natural Law, must be basic to all man-made laws, if dictators were to be prevented from destroying the freedom of people. And so our Founding Fathers gave to us a Declaration of Independence, a Constitution, and a Bill of Rights which virtually said to those who might eventually come into the control of our government: "We, the people, are endowed by God with certain inalienable rights," and that this government was set up primarily for the purpose of protecting the people in the exercise of those rights. In effect it said to them: "We, the people, will handle our own human relations and control our own institutions."

Today our courts and our politicians spurn Natural Law. They refuse to accept it as the basic law of our land. Those of us who have given years of study to this problem believe that our country has already gone far beyond the limit of safety, and that only faith in God can turn back our plunge toward a totalitarian state.

The issue is freedom, just as it was 180 years ago. And freedom can exist only in a state where the people generally accept honesty, truth, fairness, generosity, justice, and charity as a rule for their conduct. If the people accept bribery, guile, cupidity, deception, and selfishness as a rule for their conduct, then the strong exploit the weak, might becomes right, and anarchy stalks the land. Freedom for the individual under such conditions is no longer possible.

But honesty, truth, fairness, generosity, justice, and charity are the attributes of Christian moral-

Mr. Pew is a well-known industrialist, much interested in church and other educational efforts.

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ity. So if we would have individual freedom, we must first have faith in God. William Penn truly said: "Man will either be governed by God or ruled by tyrants."

Every Christian has long realized that religious freedom is of paramount importance if America is to remain great. But far too few Christians have realized that religious freedom cannot exist in a collectivist state. Freedom is indivisible. Thus, if we should lose our economic freedom, then religious, political, and other freedoms will certainly fall.

Christ depended on the power of persuasion. He saw clearly that attitudes of the heart cannot be changed by coercion, law, or penalty.

When Christians lose faith in the message of Jesus and seek to reform society by the power of the State, they are in effect appealing from God to Caesar; they are resorting to force because they have lost faith in the power of their religion.

What a travesty it is to see so many of our ministers, and laymen, too, running to Washington to obtain more laws to make more people subject to more government controls!

Of course, many of these people tell us that poverty could be conquered and economic and spiritual well-being achieved, if we could only get more laws to take more goods from more people and give to those in need. But attempts to equalize wealth are the surest way to destroy it. Most of us are prone to harbor just a little resentment against those who possess more than we do. The point is illustrated by those steadfast friends, Pat and Mike, as they waxed confidential one evening:

"Mike, if you owned a house and I didn't, you would let me sleep in one of your rooms, wouldn't you?"

"Sure and I would."

"And if you owned a horse and I didn't, you would let me drive him, wouldn't you?"

"Sure and I would."

"And if you owned a cow and I didn't, you would share the milk with me, wouldn't you?"

"Sure and I would."

"And if you owned a pig and I didn't and you butchered it, you would share the meat with me, wouldn't you?"

"No, begorra, I got a pig!"

Freedom Sparks Progress

During the last hundred years, America has made far greater material progress than was previously achieved by the whole world during all recorded history. How did America accomplish so much in so little time?

There seems to be only one answer to this question – our prog-

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ress was sparked by freedom. But many people today are losing their interest in freedom because they are prejudiced in favor of certain objectives which deny the true concept of freedom.

This is not a new subject. Lincoln was deeply concerned over it, for in 1864 he said:

> The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty, but in using the same word, we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name—liberty.

Lincoln believed that each man should control his own life and the product of his own labor, provided that he did not infringe upon the rights of others.

Real liberty is the freedom of the individual to exercise his talents, his initiative, his ingenuity, and his resourcefulness—it is freedom to be an individual. Bogus liberty is the freedom of the individual to have the security of a government bird cage.

In 1790 John Philpot Curran, the great Irish patriot, in a speech to his constituency, said: "The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt." Now, Curran did not invent that idea. He undoubtedly acquired it from the letters of Saint Paul and from the teachings of Christ himself.

Saint Paul wrote: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." And again he wrote: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

But it was Christ who taught us, saying: "If ye continue in my word . . . . ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Faith in God is therefore the condition without which individual freedom and liberty are impossible. Faith in God is the great heritage of our generation. What will be the heritage of the generations to come?

May we witness the rebirth of an ancient truth that we must first have faith in God before we can enjoy the blessings of liberty, for God is the author of liberty! Our failure to fight for the preservation of liberty is a crime, the punishment for which is servitude.

• • •

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WALTER H. KEMP

"What kind of a country are you leaving me?" asks an unidentified lad on the back cover of a recent issue of *Pulling Together,* bulletin of the National Small Business Men's Association.

> "When I grow up, will I be allowed to be myself, or will I be a social security number on a government file?
>
> "When I get sick, whose doctor can I go to, my doctor or the government doctor?
>
> "When I go to school, who is going to decide what I learn, my mother and father or a government bureau?
>
> "When I am able to afford a house, will I be able to build one just as good as I can make it, or will it be a government-built house, worth only part of what the government taxed me for housing?
>
> "When I go to work, will I be able to pick my own job or will I have to get a work permit from the government and take whatever job they give me?
>
> "And if I have criticized the government, will I get a work permit?"

Well, maybe a lad didn't pose those questions in just that way, for we seldom ponder such weighty matters in our youth. Neither may we presume that consideration of such problems is confined to just a few of the stout survivors of a past generation. But, we'll let Walter Kemp, a young executive in the offices of the American Academy of General Practice, speak for himself. His article also appears in the July issue of *GP,* the Academy's official monthly publication.

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Freedom Manifesto

I'm 30 years old. I live in Kansas City, Missouri. I decided recently that it was time to take stock, to look back, to look ahead, and to decide where I'm going from here. I almost wish I hadn't.

Everyone comes to crossroads and wonders which way to turn. I'm standing in the middle of one. Let me draw a picture.

In 1949, I graduated from Northwestern University – after two years in the Army. I've done fairly well. I don't make a king-sized salary, but I'm not about to starve. At times, I think about launching my own business. It's a big decision.

Stay where you are, I first told myself; the security's important. That's when the trouble started. I looked around and realized that many of my friends, terming security all-important, are actually trading opportunity for security. This doesn't seem quite right. Security is fine, but like anything worth having, it's expensive. How much do I want to pay? I honestly don't know.

Then it dawned on me that good old Uncle Sam is helping me set the price. For years, I've been buying government-sponsored retirement income insurance under compulsory social security. Did anyone ask me if I wanted this particular policy? No! Buy it and like it. It does no good to object. Sam says buy, and I buy. But here and now, for what it's worth, let me add that I don't like it.

Why do I have to buy government insurance? In an effort to be fair, I did a little reading. I reviewed the social security program and found that it was enacted in 1935. It was supposed to provide retirement income benefits and a cash payment to widows. Sounds harmless enough. Sure, it would cost money – but not much. Almost everyone could afford $30.00 a year.

Since 1935, the rate has gone up. I now pay $126 a year. Every time Congress gets together, the rate goes up some more. By 1975, I'll be paying $283.50 a year.

Social security suddenly seems to be something less than a bargain. Now, as I understand it, I'm

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about to start paying for disability income insurance. It's also compulsory. That's fine – but I already *have* disability income insurance! I just plain don't want any more! Too bad, Sam says, it's all part of the social welfare program.

A Shabby Plan

Social welfare, it seems, is all wrapped up with security. More important, the term "social welfare" is apparently a polite and inoffensive sounding synonym for "socialism." I don't like it. I don't like to work for the federal government and that's what socialism means to me. It means that every year Washington takes a big chunk of my income and that someday, if I'm lucky, I'll get part of it back. It sounds like a pretty shabby plan.

Just between Uncle Sam and me, I don't need any more *life* insurance. If I die tomorrow, my two heirs will collect $40,000. I'd like them to collect $100,000 and when I can afford another decent policy, I'll buy it. But it won't be a government policy. It'll earn interest and have a cash surrender value. If I change my mind after I buy it, I'll cancel it. It's that simple.

Why won't the government let me worry about life insurance, disability insurance, and retirement income insurance? That's simple, too. Because that's not the way of the "social welfare plan." Under the welfare system, I'm not insuring just myself – I'm insuring everyone else who gets caught in the net. I'm paying a "superpremium" on a socialistic policy. I'm helping the man who drags his feet as well as the one who works. This is pure and simple socialism – and I don't like it.

I've suddenly started to wonder what happened to "rugged individualism" and "American ingenuity." As proud as I am of the stars and stripes, I'm not currently waving the flag. Instead, I'm thinking about the history books I read and the lessons I learned years ago. This, I was given to understand, was the land of opportunity. It was a new homeland for people sick of oppression and excessive government control. What happened?

I don't like rampaging, parasitic policies. I don't like the "something-for-nothing" philosophy or the "cradle-to-the-grave" social welfare program. I know what it does to ambition and incentive. It is not a pretty picture.

Big government apparently wants to take over. Each session of Congress brings new social welfare programs. Each new program means new taxes. By the time I finish paying federal income tax, a state income tax, a social security tax, a sales tax, a gasoline tax, a

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cigarette tax, a luxury tax, and a host of hidden taxes, I begin to wonder whether I'm working for myself or for an assortment of government agencies. As it is, I work from January until the middle of March to pay my federal income tax. This is a lot of nonsense.

Tired of Subsidies

I'm also getting a little tired of molly-coddling subsidies. Any special interest group that controls enough votes and has a sufficiently active lobby is in line for a big fat subsidy. Don't misunderstand – I don't want anyone to starve. At the same time, subsidies seem like an artificial answer to socio-economic problems. They also reflect extreme favoritism.

I appreciate the farmer's problem – I was born and raised on a farm. Anyone who has raised apples in New England knows that the farmer has good and bad years. Some years we made money, some years we didn't. If we needed cash, we borrowed from the local bank. When we borrowed money, we paid it back.

Today this isn't necessary. The farmer gets paid for the crops he doesn't raise. The program itself has a variety of names. The Eisenhower administration likes to call it a "soil bank" program. I don't care what it's called – it's another federal handout. To be eligible, you have to belong to a special interest group that controls a large bloc of votes.

There's no green-eyed monster involved. I don't want a subsidy. The fewer subsidies, the better. I'd vote to eliminate them all. This doesn't mean I want to cut the farmer's throat. He doesn't have an easy life, and he plays a very important role in our economy. If he needs money, he should have credit. But if he borrows money, he ought to pay it back. I wonder what happens to the pride of a man who is constantly on the dole, a man who lives from handout to handout. I don't think I'd like it. Someone taught me to pay my own way in this world. Doing just that gives me a lot of satisfaction.

I don't want to appear heartless, but it seems to me that if a man can't stay in business without asking the rest of the nation for an annual handout, he might do well to pull up stakes and look for greener pastures.

Five years ago, a friend of mine bought a truck. He worked hard. Oddly enough, it didn't hurt him. Even though he managed to pay for the truck, he ran into too much competition and started losing money. In a very real sense, there was a local trucking surplus. He'd made a substantial investment in the truck, but he didn't start to think in terms of a federal sub-

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sidy. In the first place, he wasn't eligible. In the second place, he had too much pride. So he sold the truck, borrowed more money, and bought a gas station. It's still mortgaged, but he's making regular payments and a comfortable living. I admire him.

Suppose there had been a subsidy for truck owners who can't make a legitimate profit. Maybe he'd still be in the business. Each year, he'd get an umpteen dollar donation. I'd help pay it.

In a way, I don't blame the farmers. The charity payment and the unearned bonus make life a lot easier. But I still question the economic efficacy of bigger and better subsidy programs. Again I ask, when and where is it going to stop?

Government in Business

I feel much the same way about state and federal government decisions to compete with private industry. I don't doubt that the federal government can charge less for electricity. But is it actually *cheaper*? It seems to me that the government has a unique advantage. It can sell $10.00 worth of electricity for $7.50 – and then tax everyone else for the other $2.50. Also, a government installation doesn't pay taxes. This is a real and substantial competitive advantage.

Should the government compete with private industry? Should it take unfair advantage of tax-burdened industry? Somehow, it doesn't seem fair. For years, the nation screamed about the inherent evils of industrial monopolies. Today, as relentlessly as the mills of God, we're letting the federal government usurp the right of private enterprise.

Last April, when the federal income tax deadline approached, I talked to at least ten friends and associates who outlined a dozen ways to defraud the federal government. It's more than a game. These same people, in their personal and business associations, don't lie, steal, and cheat. But they resent being required to work two or three months each year for the income tax collector. They're being pushed too hard and someday they'll rebel. Maybe I already have. Maybe I'm tired of seeing an appreciable part of my income impounded by federal agencies and wasted on a plethora of give-away programs.

I've read summaries of the Hoover Commission report. I was amazed – and more than a little perturbed. It's replete with examples of waste, duplication, and inefficiency. This bothers me – it's *my* money they're wasting.

Perhaps I've complained enough. But I keep asking myself why I should work harder and possibly fill a more important niche in this

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country and the community of nations. Prestige and position don't help pay the bills. I don't wish for a raise half as much as I wish that various government agencies would stop dipping into my pocket. Every time I turn around, I pay a new tax or a bigger tax. I pay for insurance that I don't want, for roads I may never drive on, for a fancy railroad station in Rome, and for numerous other items.

Taxes—and more taxes. I should go into business for myself? I should leave myself wide open for even *more* taxes? Maybe I'd make more money and, simultaneously, a contribution to the community. But in the long run, only Uncle Sam would win.

What's the answer? I honestly don't know. It's perhaps a matter of opinion and of what a person wants. Personally, I have no use for anything that smells like socialism. I have no use for federal welfare programs. When a man needs help, I want to help him. In return, I expect an honest effort to repay. I'm against the handout, the subsidy, the various "compensation" plans, and something-for-nothing policies. I resent legislation designed to buy votes. Maybe all I want is a little more attention to the vanishing freedom that's supposed to go with pride, ambition, and a willingness to pay my own way. This, then, is my freedom manifesto. • • •

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Black Is Not White

THERE ARE CERTAIN TRUTHS which are true no matter how much the world may question or deny them.

In the economic realm for instance, you cannot legislate the poor into freedom by legislating the wealthy out of it. You cannot multiply wealth by dividing it. Governments cannot give to people what they do not first take away from people. And that which one man receives without working for, another man must work for without receiving it. And nothing can kill the initiative of a people quicker than for half of them to get the idea that they need not work because the other half will feed them, and for the other half to get the idea that it does no good to work since someone else receives the rewards of their labors. Closing one's eyes to these facts will not change them one iota.

KENNETH W. SOLLITT, from *"Christian Economics,"* August 1, 1955

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Socialism at its best...

PAUL L. POIROT

TAKE A GOOD LOOK around the world today. Turn back through the records of history. Peer ahead as far as the imagination allows. For what? For a time, and a place, and circumstances as ideal as man could hope to find or arrange for carrying on an experiment in socialism! Why do that? Simply to give the believers in socialism the best chance in the world to prove to others the soundness of their theories – or to see for themselves the falsity of their claims.

What conditions, then, would one prescribe for such a test? First of all, he'd probably look for a well-developed industrial society, a wealthy people who have known the productivity and abundance of private capitalism and who could afford such costs as a socialistic experiment might involve. He'd probably look for a complex exchange economy with many highly skilled and highly productive specialists – many persons of great ability from whom goods and services might be drawn. Also required would be the needy – persons who would submit willingly to identification and classification as deserving dependents of the society. Such an experiment surely would be facilitated if all the people had been more or less conditioned for controls – perhaps having experienced a series of world wars, much international bickering and unrest, a prolonged period of heavy taxation, a huge government debt – yes, and a debauched currency.

Other conditions may come to mind as you enter the spirit of this search. Or perhaps you will agree that we have already provided an ideal testing ground for socialism, right here in the United States, during the 25-year period since the depth of "The Great Depression." The tests have been underway for a full generation, and many examples could be cited. But to be specific, let's look at the cotton business, an experiment in socialism under conditions as ideal as anyone – or any committee – could have planned.

Dr. Poirot is a member of the staff of the Foundation for Economic Education.

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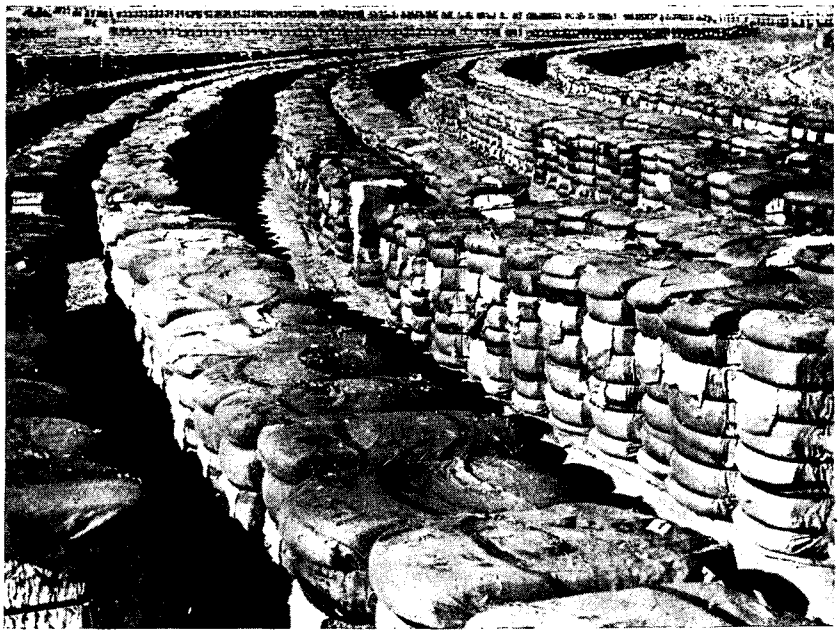
A Perfect Set-up

When and where else in the world has there been more skilled planning, more effective control, more able and willing participation, and less resistance or interference? We've been taught socialism in the schools, read it in the papers, heard it on the radio, seen it on television, and even lived it in our daily affairs. Surely, cotton growers – with a few outstanding exceptions – have been well-organized and persistent in acknowledging and proclaiming their need. And who on earth really has stood and denied it? This test of socialism – involving the cotton business of the United States – should have had success if such a project ever has or ever will!

Some persons may protest, of course, that the cotton business has not been socialized. And it is true enough that the name of socialism is not popularly associated with the program which has substituted compulsory government direction and control for competitive private enterprise as the regulator of cotton production and distribution in the United States.

A "market" scene — when government interferes.

A. Devaney, Inc.



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Indeed, many of the formalities of private ownership and control have been retained. The farm land is nominally under private ownership. The cotton is planted, cultivated, and harvested by so-called private operators. But in order to grow cotton on "his own land" or sell "his cotton," the farmer is obliged to obtain a license, or permit, or quota, or certificate; he must ask permission. In other words, the freedom of choice that is the essence of private ownership does not exist for the cotton farmer.

Instead of a free market in which willing buyers and sellers bargain to arrive at a price that tends to balance effective demand against available supplies, the price of cotton is fixed by the government – and variations in supply and demand for cotton show up either as shortages or, more likely, as unmarketable surpluses. The name socialism quite properly describes such an arrangement.

As the Secretary Sees It

So what do we have to show for this experiment? How well has socialism functioned under these nearly ideal conditions? Let's consult the person who has had charge of the experiment since early 1953. The following quotation is from a book published in 1956, *Farmers at the Crossroads,* by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson (as told to Carlisle Bargeron)*:

The story of cotton is a tragic one. Becoming frightened at the problem of abundance, cotton farmers elected to live by rigid high price supports. What has been the result?

Twenty-five years ago, cotton grew on 43 million acres of United States farm land. In 1956 the acreage is not 43 but 17.4 million.

Twenty-five years ago, before American cotton growers began to hold the price umbrella for foreign producers, cotton production abroad totaled 12 million bales. This past year foreign production was not 12 but 25 million bales.

Twenty-five years ago the United States exported 7 million bales of cotton. During the past year our exports were not 7 but 2 million bales.

Twenty-five years ago, before cotton tied its own hands, synthetic fiber consumption in the United States totaled the equivalent of about a quarter of a million bales of cotton. Today synthetic fiber consumption has reached the equivalent of about 4 and a half million bales.

Cotton producers, frightened by abundance, had a carryover of nearly 15 million bales before the 1956 crop was harvested. This carryover was the largest in history and posed a major threat to world cotton markets.

After twenty-five years of the utmost government solicitude, cotton has lost markets everywhere. Its pro-

*New York, Devin-Adair. $2.75

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ducers have lost freedom. Cottonseed crushers are limited in the availability of their raw material. Cottonseed oil supply is limited and soybean oil is increasingly taking its place.

The pity is that the road back is a long, long one, even if cotton should set its feet firmly in that direction. Markets once lost are not easily regained.

The Farm Bureau Comments

If one chooses not to rely entirely on the report of the administrator of the cotton experiment, he may check with one of the major farm organizations. Early in 1957, the American Farm Bureau Federation published a "discussion sheet" on "Subsidies," with these observations:

Through price support, the government has guaranteed agriculture a market. This guaranteed market causes farm production to increase in spite of production controls. In other subsidized industries overproduction is checked either by limits on the amount of the subsidies or by the fact that production must be sold on the open market.

The restrictions and waste in agricultural programs are an inevitable result of price supports. For it is well to remember—we *have* wheat and cotton export subsidies *because of* price supports; we *have* quotas and allotments *because of* price supports; we *have* surpluses, surplus removal programs, and diverted acre problems *because of* price supports.

With all of the experience we have had with government attempts to boost farmers' income, which is down while the income of "free" industries is up, it seems wise to take a hard look at what subsidies really do.

The total cost of these programs is almost impossible to calculate. However, the realized cost of efforts to stabilize prices from 1933-1956 has been in excess of $14 billion. In addition, payments in excess of $3½ billion have been made to "conserve the soil." Examples of program costs in stabilizing prices during this period are:

corn — $1-3/4 billion
cotton — $2-1/5 billion
wheat — $3-1/3 billion
peanuts — $183 million
rice — $100 million
tobacco — $241 million

Estimated soil bank payments for 1957 are $1.2 billion. The export subsidy programs, while moving surpluses, have been expensive. For example, the International Wheat Agreement for the export of wheat has cost $759.6 million since 1949.

Cotton exports are costing an estimated $45 per bale on 6.5 million bales in 1956-57. In addition, public funds totaling $476.2 million have been made available to finance about half of these exports through loans, gifts, and foreign currency sales.

Farmers must live under laws, rules, regulations, and orders that divide up the right to produce. Under government controls the tendency to "level down" all farmers to

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a low "common denominator" gathers momentum every year.

Views of a Cotton Dealer

In Houston, Texas, recently, before the Agriculture Committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Lamar Fleming, Jr., board chairman of Anderson, Clayton & Company, the world's largest private cotton dealer, offered his appraisal of the cotton experiment:

We have tried to perpetuate prices that would support cotton production on marginal farms. Experience shows that we cannot do it without creating prices that make cotton production a bonanza on more efficient lands without acreage restriction—or even with it, under intensive fertilization and care. Experience shows that we cannot do it without also creating huge Government cotton stocks, eventually to be liquidated at tremendous losses, and without having to choose between the loss of our foreign cotton markets to foreign cotton and rayon, or perpetuation of a dumping policy which challenges the World to economic warfare—anyhow not without losing more of our domestic market to rayon.

What would we accomplish that is worth all this?

For a while, we would keep some people in a precarious living, growing cotton where it cannot be grown economically or efficiently. This would help them continue a struggle in which ultimate defeat is certain. If you have a friend engaged in a hopeless undertaking, do you give him money to help him continue in it? Or do you help him to get into an occupation that offers hope of success? The answer is obvious.

I believe a time has come when efficient cotton growers who are truly thoughtful will come in increasing numbers to the conclusion that a business which depends on Government support, obtained through log-rolling, with the inevitable accompaniment of Government restrictions, is a dangerous business; because, what Government gives today, it too easily can take away tomorrow.

Aggravating Influences

As if to compound its failure, the same government that squanders tax funds to restrict production and boost the price of cotton simultaneously attempts to increase yields per acre and to improve the techniques of cotton production and harvest. Tax supported colleges and experiment stations, along with USDA's own vast field force, spread the findings of their research on matters such as disease resistance, more and larger bolls per plant, longer and finer and stronger fiber, adaptability to mechanical harvesting, seed bed preparation, insecticides, fertilization practices, and weed control, to mention a few. As a consequence of this, as well as much privately financed research and development,

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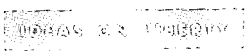
the average yield of cotton lint per acre in the United States has climbed from about 200 pounds in the early 1930's to more than 400 pounds in recent years.

The Failure of Monopoly

So, the record is clear for anyone who cares to observe the results of a socialistic experiment under conditions as ideal as could be contrived by the mind of man and his powers of compulsion. The intended relief program for American cotton growers has turned the cotton business into a government monopoly, with laws to exclude competition. This is the usual pattern for attempts at socialism; the good intentions succumb to the corrupting influence of power.

Monopoly power is difficult to assemble and wield, for the competitive spirit has great vitality. Suppress competition among growers of cotton in the United States, and foreign suppliers will enter the market. Restrict a man's production of cotton, and he will produce a substitute. Overcharge a customer, and he will take his business elsewhere. Overtax a citizen and, sooner or later, he will institute a new government. Such are the reasons why socialism must fail, even under the most favorable circumstances in the world.

The cotton fiasco in the United States can be concluded if the government will sell its holdings and get out of the cotton business completely — no more support programs, acreage and production controls, research, or any other intervention in what is none of the business of government. Nor is there any reason why this much-needed corrective should be applied gradually. The only way to be rid of socialism and excessive taxation is to allow freedom for the creative activities of men. • • •



Laissez-Faire

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, private initiative, the hope of reward, and the expectation of achievement have always been primarily responsible for the advancement of mankind. Continued progress — be it spiritual, mental, or material — rests squarely upon a better understanding of the idea of individual freedom of choice and action, with personal responsibility for one's own decisions.

JOHN SPARKS, *If Men Were Free To Try*

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W. ALLEN WALLIS

ALMOST EVERYONE says he's in favor of free enterprise but hardly anyone really is. Slogans like "Make free enterprise work" or "Preserve capitalism" are the usual rallying cries of all kinds of programs to impair freedom of enterprise. A lot of this is disingenuous.

These disingenuous slogans of the false friends of free enterprise don't bother me nearly as much as the fact that many real friends of free enterprise have hazy notions about how such a system is supposed to work. Even they fail to understand that most so-called "welfare" objectives can be achieved better by free enterprise than by collectivism. In debate they are too often easy pushovers for the collectivists.

I am continually impressed by the fact that most individualists and most collectivists are surprisingly close together in their general objectives of social welfare – elimination of poverty, reduction of inequality, and provision for hardship. The differences between the individualists and the collectivists are differences not in values but in technical analysis of the means of attaining these values.

For this reason, I shall make an attempt to picture in very broad strokes the basic mechanism of a free enterprise economy – to describe the way it should – and mostly does – work.

170 Million Individuals

Here in the United States is an area of about three million square miles containing 170 million people. Suppose you were asked how to organize these people to utilize the resources available to them for their material satisfactions. You can imagine you have a fairly detailed inventory of the natural resources of the country, of the peo-

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ple and their knowledge, energies, and abilities, and of their wants. Imagine that all these resources are as unorganized as a set of chessmen just poured out of their box and awaiting organization on the chessboard. Your problem is to organize the resources so that wants will be filled as well as possible.

Organization Problems

If you can get your head working at all in the face of so staggering a prospect, it will occur to you that one of the first things you are going to need is some way of establishing goals and measuring achievement. Which of the many things wanted are going to be produced, in what quantities, and with what priorities?

And after you establish these goals and priorities, you will need a method of assigning the various pieces of capital, the various natural resources, and the various people to particular activities. Each will have several alternative uses; you will need a method of coordinating the resources assigned to cooperate in each task.

Then, third, you will have to have some system for dividing the product among the people; who gets how much of what, and when?

Fourth, you will probably realize that for one reason or another your system will not work perfectly but will sometimes have overproduced some things and underproduced others. You will need some system of adjustment to these temporary shortages and abundances, until your method of measuring achievement and your method of allocating resources can get the basic situation corrected.

A fifth kind of problem you may worry about is that of providing for the expansion and improvement of your capital equipment and technological knowledge.

These five functions have to be provided for when you establish any organization, even a small and relatively simple one. When we consider the large and complex organization of an entire economy, what are some of the alternative ways of arranging for them?

Alternative Systems

The most obvious way to arrange things is the way an army does. You set up a commander or a general staff. They decide on goals, they decide who shall do what to attain them, they decide how to apportion the product, and they issue orders accordingly. Another method is that used in beehives and ant colonies in which caste and custom determine who does what. Things go on in the same way, generation after generation.

A third way is to introduce

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money and let each person decide which he will perform of the activities that others will pay for, and what he will buy of the things that others offer for money.

Under this system, goals are set by the money offers of individuals for goods and services. Resources are allocated to one activity or another by the desires of their owners for money income. Goods are distributed to individuals according to their willingness and ability to pay the prices. Thus prices become the crucial organizing element in such an economy. Indeed, this system is often called the "price system."

Efficient and Voluntary

The price system has two outstanding features. First, it is by all odds the most efficient system of social organization ever conceived. It makes it possible for huge multitudes to cooperate effectively, multitudes who may hardly know of each other's existence, or whose personal attitudes toward one another may be indifference or hostility. Second, it affords a maximum of individual freedom and a minimum of coercion. And since people can cooperate effectively in production even when their attitudes on other issues are hostile, there is no need for unity and conformity in religion, politics, recreation, and language – or even in patriotism and good will except in the very broadest sense.

Although one of the big features of the price system that commends it is the voluntary nature of individual actions, the system nevertheless exerts powerful inducements and even compulsions.

Guides to Action

A consumer who has it in mind to use up a lot of a scarce commodity highly prized by others is forced to forego consuming other commodities to an extent judged by others to be equivalent. A producer who tries to get more income than his services are judged by others to be worth is prevented from doing so by the freedom of buyers to buy elsewhere and of other sellers to underprice him. A business manager who tries to waste labor, capital, and raw materials is prevented from doing so because he will find himself taking in less money than he pays out. As long as he can make good the deficit, by giving up his own right to consume, this can continue; but when he can no longer make good – that is when he can no longer pay for the labor, capital, and raw materials – he is forced to stop wasting them just as firmly as if a cease and desist order were issued by a Federal Bureau of Efficiency. Maybe more firmly, for his con-

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gressman may be more influential with the federal bureau than with his creditors.

The freedom of the system produces inducements or compulsions for individuals to act efficiently in the general interest. It is not by any means true that each enterprise is free to do what it pleases. It is restricted by the freedom of consumers to buy elsewhere; of the owners of labor, capital, and raw materials to sell elsewhere; and of business managers to enter the same business in competition with it.

Price Communications

This freedom of others to compete for advantages is effective in checking individual self-aggrandizement because economic information is effectively disseminated by prices. Prices represent one of the most efficient communication devices ever invented.

Indeed, we might look on the problem of organization as hinging on communication. The problem is to bring to bear on each decision two very different kinds of information. On one hand, any decision depends on general, over-all economic data; for example, how much a certain product is wanted, and how abundant the resources are from which it could be made. On the other hand, it depends on minute special knowledge; for example, knowledge of peculiar abilities, of unused resources, of possible changes in ways of doing things.

Centralize or Disperse?

Now the problem is whether to transmit the detailed knowledge of special circumstances to a central agency, or to transmit the general information to the individuals who have the detailed knowledge. The detailed knowledge is too voluminous and nebulous for transmittal or for assimilation, and no one could know what parts should be selected. The general information, however, is summarized in prices.

Just that part of the general data that is relevant to an individual's decision is summarized in prices. If a price goes up, that tells him everything he needs to know to guide his action; he does not need to know why the price went up; the fact that it did go up tells him to try to use a little less or it tells him to produce more of the commodity, and how far to go in his efforts.

Not only do prices convey information on how an individual *should* act, but they provide at the same time a powerful inducement for him to do so.

An understanding of the theory of a price system is essential to any efforts to improve our economic organization or to any com-

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parison of alternative modes of economic organization. To me, the most depressing thing about the prospects for a free society is not the hydrogen bomb, or international politics, or communist agitation; it is the fact that so very few have any understanding of economics. • • •

For a superb explanation of the fundamental role of prices in a free economy, uncluttered by technical details, I recommend highly the following two references which are, in fact, the source of my own remarks above:

1. Frank H. Knight. *The Economic Organization.* New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Inc., 1951. This small book was written in the late 1920's, but until the early 1950's was available only in limited editions, which were used extensively in teaching economics at the University of Chicago, and occasionally at a few other colleges and universities. The framework which Knight introduced here has influenced writers of several widely-used textbooks in economics.

2. F. A. Hayek. "The Use of Knowledge in Society." *American Economic Review* 35:519-530. September 1945. Though written for a more technical audience than was the author's famous book of about the same date (*The Road to Serfdom*), this short article is equally lucid and important.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Capital and Initiative

WHAT, THEN, IS RESPONSIBLE for our economic supremacy? Two things, more than anything else. The first is capital. Both sides of American industry — management and labor — have more machinery and other equipment to work with than is available in any other nation in the world. The second is the ability and willingness to make the kind of effort required for economic growth. American history has been characterized by a value system which encourages a spirit of adventure, a desire for higher living standards, and a will to economize resources. Economic institutions like property, profits, and other individual "rights" have tended to assure that the rewards for productive effort will be received by those who earn them. Some other nations have had one or the other of these factors to a high degree, but in the United States they have been uniquely combined and together they go far toward explaining our unprecedented industrial achievement.

WALTER S. BUCKINGHAM, JR. From the *Atlantic Economic Review*, January 1957

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Shall the Needy INHERIT OUR COLLEGES?

F. A. HARPER

A FRIEND who is unusually talented and devoted to the cause of liberty has asked for advice on specifications for some college scholarships he wants to finance. He has tentatively included "financial need" as a requirement for a grant, along with character scholarship, and the like. I have suggested that he delete "need" as a requisite for a grant.

Most scholarship awards in the United States now specify need as a condition of any grant. The practice has become so prevalent that any suggestion to omit it calls for some explanation; otherwise the suggestion is likely to be discarded without even a thought. These are my reasons.

From Childhood to Self-Reliance

In order to bring the question into focus, let us start with the birth of the child.

A child at birth is wholly dependent on grants of aid as a matter of survival. His food and the like are not what he himself has produced, or what has been obtained in exchange for what he has produced. Ascribing to his own endeavors the genesis of his own creation is stretching the biological point a bit too far.

So parents, ordinarily, assume the responsibility of caring for the newborn, according to his need. If any aspect of merit is to be ascribed to it at all, it is the hope and expectation that he will grow and later develop the latent talents of self-reliance which he is presumed to possess at birth.

In order for this hope to become a reality, it is important that the child develop as rapidly as possible from an object of need to one whose existence rests on reward for his own attainment. This attainment should more and more take the form of economic production to supplement his other satisfactions.

Dr. Harper is a member of the staff of the Foundation for Economic Education.

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Market Test for Merit

For economic attainment, merit is best tested in the market place. The worth of the goods and services produced and traded there is judged by consumers who are allowed to vote according to their own contributions to the market. Each consumer may bid as high as he wishes.

The producer's need is not a factor of any importance in the market place. Ordinarily when we buy something, we do not even know who the producer was, so could not consider his need even if we wanted to. No consumer, for instance, buys a can of beans in a supermarket under the assumption that it tastes better or is more nutritious if produced by a destitute farmer, rather than if produced by one who is not so destitute. He judges the can of beans, not the bean producer's needs, when he buys it.

In rearing children to live in a free society, then, we should help them to develop as rapidly as possible from dependence to independence; from reliance to self-reliance; from reward for mere existence to reward for meritorious attainment; from claims of need to recognition of merit; from being objects of charity to being productively capable of rendering acts of charity themselves. Such should be our aim, as rapidly as we can wean them of the needy condition of their birth. That is the heart of our parental responsibility.

As the days and years pass, the child should be allowed to grow in the sense of self-reliance. Latent abilities – those hopes that merited care of the newborn – should be allowed to bloom. If we fail in that, we shall render him a disservice rather than a service. If we fail, we teach him that somebody owes him a continuing existence in spite of his own efforts, merely because he has been born. If we fail, we create in his mind a fertile soil for socialist indoctrination.

That, I believe, is a reasonable guide and objective in the educational process. And the granting of scholarships should be aimed that way.

The Market for Scholarships

Learning, to be sure, seems quite unlike things produced for sale in the market. It may enhance the learner's ability to produce, but its salable fruits are of a separate form and occur subsequently to the learning process itself. Consumers in the market do not buy the person's learning itself, as they buy a bushel of potatoes he has produced; they buy, instead, any useful derivatives of his learning. So a youngster's

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merit for a scholarship must be judged in some way other than like appraising the direct worth of potatoes.

A scholarship is presumably related to the youngster's promise of further notable attainment in learning. And merit should be so judged, in my opinion. It should be judged strictly on the basis of what the student has already demonstrated and attained, in terms of his scholastic attainment, character, and other such qualities. That is the evidence of his ability to live a life of worthy attainment and good character.

What the scholarship applicant is trying to sell and what the grantor is offering to buy, in the scholarship market, is evidence of the presence of these qualities of scholastic purpose in highest degree. If judgments of worth are to be fairly rendered, the buyer should be impersonal about all other considerations than these which comprise the object of his purchase – as he does when he buys bread or medicine or a car.

This Matter of Need

The matter of need has become an increasing concern in our lives, even as we have increasingly removed it from our living in the United States. It has come more and more into the content of educational materials, into the teaching of our children, and even – as is our present concern – into the granting of collegiate scholarships. In all these ways we are training our children to live by the Marxian doctrine:

> From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.

There is nothing wrong with having needs; we all have them, and always will. But as a philosophy of life with which our children are being widely inculcated, this Marxian concept of need is like a "hot rod" without brakes. "Need" grows without bounds whenever it is severed from a responsibility for acquiring satisfaction through one's own endeavors.

Thus the Marxian doctrine of irresponsibility creates an ever-increasing and insatiable appetite. Teaching this to our children by either word or deed does them a serious educational disservice; one expression of this is to make need a condition of granting scholarships.

Need, per se, has nothing whatever to do with scholastic merit – and in that sense, it has nothing to do with merit for a scholarship. Why, then, should need be made a consideration of a grant? Why should not youngsters of college age be taught that meritorious attainment is a prime consideration in the scholarship market? Aspir-

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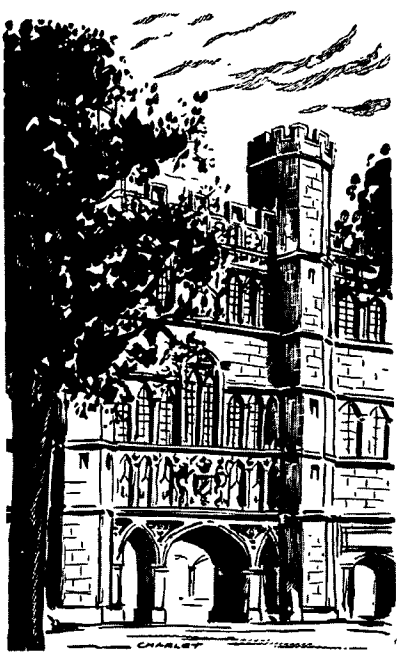
ants would then have this worthy star to guide them during the years prior to eligibility.

Is Saving Sinful?

Were such a plan to be followed, a scholarship might be awarded to the offspring of parents who are not needy; who are neither paupers nor false claimants of pauperism. Is that a bad thing?

Denying a scholarship to a youngster whose parents are not poverty stricken is in effect teaching him the lesson of socialism.



He is being taught that his parents' wealth is a sin for which he shall be made to suffer – at least to the extent of being denied an award, in spite of his personal worthiness of character and attainment. The socialists might even try to justify this outcome by recalling that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the offspring, even unto the third and fourth generations.

If "need" is to be adjudged meritorious in making such awards, it follows that the possession of economic means becomes a demerit. In other words, if parents, by using ability and industry and thrift, have saved enough to be without need, their attainment becomes a matter of demerit – some sort of sin – so far as the child's position is concerned in the market for scholarships.

No Work for the Wealthy

Any correct concept should be taught to children as early as possible, I assume. So if the idea is right that wealth is sinful – that hard work and thrift comprise a demerit because they eliminate need – why not teach it to them from the start? Why wait until college age to teach it?

If the child goes to the neighbors, hoping for a job mowing their lawns or something, why not have the neighbors inform him

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that unless his parents are paupers, he cannot have a job – have need established as a condition requisite to a job?

If such reasoning is valid for the granting of scholarships, why is it not equally valid for all forms of work and remuneration? By this concept, ability to do a good job shall have no merit except where the person is also needy.

Were this idea to be carried out consistently, there would be no work for the wealthy or for the children of the wealthy. They would then all be denied employment. Probably there is no better way than this by which to ruin character and cause juvenile delinquency. And as applied here, the ruination would be imposed upon some of the best of human stock, biologically.

Charity Still Possible

Though we have been considering scholarships for merit, something should be said about instances of dire educational need. How are needy youngsters to obtain a college education if their need is not to be included as a requisite for scholarships?

In the first place, real education may be obtained in ways far less expensive than those currently fashionable in this country. Luxury living is not an essential ingredient of the educational process. The educational means of many great men are ample proof of this.

Second, employment is available at high rates of pay during vacation periods and while going to college, for those whose need is really pressing. I have known many industrious and thrifty youngsters who have accumulated enough from their own earnings to pay a large part – even all – of their collegiate costs. If their industry makes them no longer eligible for scholarship awards because they are no longer needy, how can this mean anything to them except an object lesson in socialism?

Third, many credit sources are available to any able student whose real need exceeds the funds otherwise available from his own efforts, from his family, or from other sources.

Fourth, in discussing scholarship grants we are presumably dealing with the relatively few exceptional youngsters and not with cases of only marginal educational ability. We are dealing with the cream of the crop, in order that they may attend some outstanding college or university. An important purpose is to induce them to strive for scholastic and character attainment, the same whether of poor or rich parents. Let children of all economic levels

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compete freely in this regard. Whereas children from poor families should not be arbitrarily handicapped, neither should they be rewarded for reasons other than scholarship and character. Let it be a fair race for all.

Finally, charitable aid may well be offered and made available for all needy youngsters who lose out in the race for merit scholarships. Such assistance is perfectly proper. But charitable aid should not be confused with grants presumed to be based on intellectual merit and proven abilities. Charity should carry its true label.

I do not mean to say, in other words, that assistance to college students should be exclusively of the type I have advocated here. I mean only to say that in my opinion we have rather gone overboard about this matter of need as applied to collegiate aid, until we widely honor it with the term scholarship. If we are to avoid educating our youngsters in the ways of socialistic thought, we should base merit scholarship on merit and not on need. Unless we drastically change our way of thinking, I fear that we shall continue moving toward a time when the needy shall inherit our colleges from the worthy. • • •

Security at the Expense of Freedom

IN ANY LARGE SCALE ACTIVITY involving the interplay of many people, standards tend to become debased to the level of the lowest. This is obviously what is happening in our society. The exceptional man prefers freedom to security: the mediocre man prefers security to freedom — security at the expense of freedom is what we are getting. The exceptional man finds his highest values in the satisfaction of the creative impulse, while the highest good of the mediocre is creature comfort—we are getting a society in which the supreme good, to which the government should bend all its efforts, is raising the standard of living. From this point of view, the advantages of a minimum government are obvious; the less the government controls, the fewer the things subject to this debasing action, whereas in a country in which the government controls everything, everything is debased.

P. W. BRIDGMAN, *Reflections of a Physicist*
New York: Philosophical Library

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PYRRHIC VICTORY

A Tip for the Libertarian Teacher

ROBERT T. OLIVER

The arguments you lose are often costly. But frequently they are a real bargain in comparison with the price you have to pay for the arguments you win.

Several years ago I was teaching an evening class in public speaking to a selected group of highly successful businessmen. The first evening one of them stayed till the others had left, then told me about his own personal problem.

"I haven't got the brass a salesman ought to have," he confessed. "I can't speak up and impress my personality on the prospects, the way the sales manuals say we ought to. What can you do to help me develop a more positive and dominant type of speech?"

Working with him during the next several weeks proved to be one of the most interesting challenges I have encountered. I learned that he was one of the best salesmen on his company's roster. Observing him in action, I found that he was a positive master of a strange and little-practiced technique – *low-pressured* salesmanship!

Instead of dominating his customers, he was letting them dominate him. And my greatest challenge as a teacher was to get him to realize that he ought not to change. He was making sales not by convincing his customers but by encouraging them to convince themselves. There is no better way.

What Do You Want?

Whenever you find yourself in a situation where you feel it is absolutely necessary that you argue with somebody – stop first and ask yourself honestly what it is you are trying to accomplish.

The chances are that what you chiefly want is to bolster your own ego. You want to feel superior. You yearn to win the approval of the listeners as they applaud your cleverness. You want to pin your opponent down and watch him squirm.

Well, if you can afford it, go ahead! One function of argument

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is make-believe combat, like the pretense of fierce fighting engaged in by playful kittens. There is no doubt that one of the genuine pleasures in life is to pile up arguments and cement them with wit and ridicule, to form a pedestal on which our own superior brilliance may be put on display.

So you win the argument. But never imagine for a moment that you have received the pleasant glow of ego-satisfaction scot free! The more bedraggled you have left your opponent, the higher the price you have to pay.

Of all the ways in which human beings deal with one another, their ego-relationships are the most important. No man can abide being made to look like a fool.

When Benjamin Franklin was a youth, he used to get a lot of personal satisfaction out of leaping upon the mistakes of his friends and gleefully tearing them to tatters. Then he found he was winning arguments but losing friends and influence. He began to adopt another tactic.

In his *Autobiography* he wrote: "When another asserted something that I thought an error, I denied myself the pleasure of contradicting him abruptly. I even forbid myself the use of every expression that imported a fixed opinion, such as *certainly, undoubtedly,* etc. and I adopted instead *I conceive,* or *I imagine* a thing to be so."

A soft answer more than turns away wrath. It wins agreement and makes friends. It is the hardest kind of speech to learn and beyond question the most effective to use. • • •

READ OR WRITE

Patience Does It

IT MAY BE ADMITTED that man is a reasonable being. But, as Historian James T. Shotwell reminds us, in all of us, reason is only a covering for a mile-deep reservoir of instinctive sentiments and emotions. We must hold this in mind when dealing with our fellow humans. Naturally, we must continue to use the tools of the intellect, we must use logic, in our attempt to get results. But, when logic fails for a time, and unreasoning emotion takes control, let us neither be surprised nor disappointed. Patience may often be one of the most effective tools of the intellectual.

THOMAS DREIER, *The High Road.* August 1952

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• Man seems destined forever to seek some new institution as a panacea for his troubles! When governments—failing in the limited purpose they might have served—attempt a superorganization of conflicting pressures, the inevitable outcome is:

UN, Competent Only for Mischief

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS was still in the project stage, a well-meaning religious organization urged its members to write their congressmen favoring American participation. Slogan of the organization was: "You can win the peace with a three-cent stamp."

Few people today would be quite so naive. And yet, despite sobering lessons of experience, the idea of referring every international problem to the UN in the hope that this will lead to a solution still possesses a popular appeal, compounded of sentimentality, ignorance, and mental laziness.

What is not generally realized is that the UN has shown itself competent only for mischief, that there is a wide and dangerous disparity between its pretensions and its real power, that the subordination of vital United States interests to the shifting and uncertain majorities of the UN Assembly could create serious threats to our national well-being. It is ironical that there is a tendency to advocate unconditional reliance on the United Nations, just after that organization has revealed itself as a broken reed, even from the standpoint of passing effective moral judgments, to say nothing of taking effective action.

By the terms of the Charter the United Nations is a league of everyone against no one, with the primary objective of preserving world peace. Power to act is vested in a Security Council of eleven members, of whom five—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China – are permanent. Any of these permanent members can stop the functioning of the Council by casting a veto.

It is as if a community should place the maintenance of law and order in the hands of a commission of five, one of them a notorious gangster and troublemaker. It

Mr. Chamberlin, noted author, lecturer, and contributor to the Wall Street Journal *and many nationally known magazines, has carefully observed UN activities both at headquarters and in the field.*

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could easily be foreseen that under such an arrangement the state of public security would leave much to be desired.

And this has been the result of the UN fantasy of assuming that close cooperation between the victorious powers of World War II would maintain peace. Wartime coalitions are notoriously short-lived and unstable. Even when there was the cementing force of a common enemy, there were clear divergences of aim between the Soviet Union and the two principal Western powers – the United States and Great Britain.

Postwar Coalitions

During the war these divergences were hushed up by direct and indirect censorship and prevented from coming to the surface because Stalin was pretty much given what he wanted, notably at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. But after the war ended, Stalin continued his aggressive policies in Europe and in Asia, with the ultimate avowed communist goal of world conquest through world revolution and Soviet military power clearly in mind. Two new coalitions grew up.

One was composed of the Soviet Union and the countries which, during and after the war, adopted communist forms of government, all except China as a result of subjugation by the Red Army. The other consisted of the United States, most of the noncommunist countries of Europe, and those Asiatic powers – Nationalist China, Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan – which felt threatened by communist aggression and subversion.

The United Nations offered no solution for this situation. It became as superfluous, so far as the realities of the cold war are concerned, as the appendix in the human body. For the Soviet veto in the Security Council, which has been cast more than eighty times, could always block action. And resolutions of censure of this or that Soviet act in the General Assembly, of which there have been an abundance, have never exerted the slightest visible influence on Soviet conduct.

The Korean War

An exceptional situation arose in June 1950, when a communist North Korean army, outfitted to the last hand grenade with weapons made in Russia, surged across the frontier into South Korea. At that time the Soviet delegate in the Security Council was carrying on a boycott because Red China was not admitted to the UN. This unusual circumstance made it possible for the Security Council to sanction action in defense of

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South Korea without being stymied by the Soviet veto.

Here, cried the UN supporters, is something new. Unlike its predecessor, the League of Nations, the UN has demonstrated capacity to act, to fight against aggression. But, as one looks back on this episode, there is strong reason to believe that the United States would have come out of it better if the UN had not been in existence.

In the first place, only a few of the UN members rendered military aid, and this was of negligible, token proportions. What developed was a UN war, but a US and South Korean fight.

In the second place, the UN, with the many rifts among its members, proved a most unsuitable agency for the conduct of a war. Many of its Asian members, notably India, did not put a man or a gun on the Korean front. They were, however, most liberal with back seat driving advice. A result was to slow down military action to the pace of the most timid and the most reluctant.

U. S. Hands Tied

It was not only that the United States had to bear much the largest share of the war burden. It was also compelled by consideration for its associates to fight with one hand tied behind its back. America was not allowed to make full use of the air and naval strength in which its superiority was enormous. What was achieved in the end was an armistice virtually on the basis of the status quo – an armistice which the Chinese and North Korean communists have been persistently evading and violating.

Had there been no United Nations, the United States could have handled the Korean crisis with much freer hands. We might even have stayed out of it entirely.

Abdication of Responsibility

Those who favor "leaving to the UN" this or that difficult international problem forget that the UN has no power to implement a policy even when its members agree on what that policy should be. The UN record, in dealing with weak nations as with strong, has been one long failure – in Kashmir, in Palestine, in Hungary, and Suez. "Leaving it to the UN" is a mere euphemism for abdication of responsibility.

Realizing that the Soviet absence from the Security Council at the time of the outbreak of hostilities in Korea was not likely to happen again, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson conceived the idea of shifting the power of initiating action in the UN from the Security Council to the General

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Assembly where the veto does not apply. The so-called Uniting for Peace resolution, passed in 1950, provides that the Assembly, by a two-thirds majority, shall make recommendations, including the use of force, if the exercise of the veto should prevent the Security Council from taking action to maintain international peace.

The legality of this resolution is open to question. The authorization for the Assembly to recommend action is an important change in the Charter which vests this right in the Security Council. And Article 108 stipulates that the Charter may be amended only with the agreement of all permanent members of the Security Council.

Blocs in the UN Assembly

Leaving aside this legal point, there are three cogent reasons for doubting whether the Assembly can be an effective instrument for maintaining peace.

First, the Korean experience showed that very few UN members are willing to make even a token contribution to a war which does not touch them directly, which is being waged for such an abstract cause as "collective security" or "resistance to aggression."

Second, the one nation, one vote procedure in the Assembly is not an accurate reflection of world power realities and lends an element of unrealism to Assembly votes. It is mere make-believe to pretend that Liberia, Libya, and the Sudan are the military, political, and economic equivalents of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. Yet their votes count just as much.

Third, and perhaps most important, the two-thirds majority for the Western viewpoint, which at one time was almost automatic, no longer exists. This is because new members of the UN are almost entirely Asian and African states. This trend is likely to be still more pronounced in the future, because eligible nations in Europe and the American continent, Germany excepted, are already members. As former colonial territories in Africa become independent (Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, for instance), they join the United Nations.

A situation has now been created where a two-thirds majority in the Assembly cannot be obtained for any proposition to which the Soviet bloc and the Arab-Asian-African bloc are opposed. The French Ambassador to the United States, M. Herve Alphand, called attention to this situation with Gallic lucidity at the time of the Suez crisis:

> No country can safely imagine the UN in its present state as the only way of determining and implement-

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ing international law. Because, if you go to the Security Council, you are faced with the Soviet veto. And if you go to the Assembly, you could be defeated by a majority formed by the Soviet bloc and the Bandung group. No country could accept in all cases that its foreign policy should be defeated by the Soviet veto or the Bandung group.[1]

Hungarian Episode

Any shred of moral authority which the UN still possessed was dissipated by its inept handling of the two crises which burst out simultaneously in October-November, 1956. The first was produced by the brutal Soviet onslaught against the Hungarian people who desired to be neutral and free from Soviet domination. The other was the outgrowth of Egyptian dictator Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal and hostile policy toward Israel, with the consequent resort of Israel, Great Britain, and France to military measures.

The first of these crises was a clear, black-and-white confrontation of right and wrong. Contrary to a general impression, what happened in Hungary was not the suppression of a revolt against an unrepresentative government with the aid of Soviet tanks. This would have been bad enough, but what occurred was much worse. The recognized government of Hungary, headed by a veteran communist, Imre Nagy, had been swept along by a tide of popular resentment, directed both against Soviet domination and against communism, to a point where it was asserting Hungary's national independence and appealing to the United Nations for recognition of its neutral status.

The Soviet reply was to pour in tanks and artillery, batter the city of Budapest, crush the Hungarian fight for freedom with the utmost brutality, and set up a stooge government. To this outrageous challenge the UN response was – nothing. There were a few motions of protest and censure, contemptuously ignored by Moscow and its Hungarian puppets. But there was not even the mildest follow-up of these resolutions.

Suez Crisis

The Near Eastern crisis was much more complicated, and the issue of right and wrong was far from clear. Military invasion is always a grave step that can lead to unforeseen consequences. But in this case it was taken after serious provocation to Great Britain and France and almost intolerable provocation to Israel.

Americans could appreciate the British-French view on Suez if we

[1]The "Bandung group" is a group of Asian and African states, including Red China, which held a conference in Bandung, in Indonesia, two years ago.

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would imagine a violently anti-American left-wing government in Panama announcing the nationalization of the Panama Canal after concluding a large arms deal with the Soviet Union. A procommunist regime in Guatemala, which had done much less than this against American interests was smoothly upended in 1954, with visible satisfaction in Washington.

Nasser's provocation to Israel was still more serious. Not only had his government radio in Cairo repeatedly threatened to wipe Israel off the map; Nasser was excluding Israeli shipping from the Suez Canal, in defiance of a UN ruling; he was blockading the Gulf of Aqaba, another Israeli maritime outlet; and armed Arab guerilla bands under Egyptian leadership were launching raids into Israeli territory from the Gaza Strip.

The large Egyptian build-up of Soviet arms in the Sinai Desert pointed to preparation for an ultimate all-out attack on Israel. If the term "preventive war" could ever be used accurately, it would characterize the swift Israeli campaign in the Sinai Desert, aimed at opening free passage through the Gulf of Aqaba and eliminating guerrilla bases in the Sinai peninsula and the Gaza Strip.

Had justice been the overriding consideration, the UN, in dealing with the Near Eastern crisis, would have considered not only the resort to violence, but the causes which preceded this resort to violence. It would have sought to link the removal of British, French, and Israeli troops with a fair Suez settlement, which would have respected the rights of private property and the interest of the principal user nations, whose capital and enterprise had made the Canal possible in the first place. Justice also would have required a stoppage of blockade and guerrilla operations against Israel. It would have denied to Nasser the right to be at peace with Israel one moment and at war the next, depending on which best suited his political convenience.

UN Double Standard

But the UN, which displayed a craven, unimaginative unwillingness or inability to take any action in Hungary where the moral and legal case was clear, pursued a completely one-sided pro-Egyptian course in the Near East, where the moral and legal issues were much more complex. As a result, while the fighting has stopped, the causes which led to the fighting remain.

And the UN, supposedly the expression of the moral conscience of mankind, has given a dismal ex-

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hibition of a double standard of morals: a soft standard for big powers committing flagrant aggression, like the Soviet Union in Hungary or India in Kashmir; a hard standard for a small country, Israel, that struck out against a clear threat to its national existence. By its inaction in the Hungarian crisis and its misguided action in the Near Eastern crisis the United Nations justified a fear which Winston Churchill expressed in the first year of its existence: that it might become a shield for the strong and mockery for the weak.

There are several practical disadvantages about United States membership in the UN. It creates an illusory sense of security. Whatever security we possess we owe first to our own strength, second to alliances with countries which are going our way, which share our political aims and our sense of danger from imperialist communism. But the illusion persists in some quarters that the UN, without a man or a gun at its disposal, can somehow spread an umbrella of safety over the whole world.

In the UN Assembly we are in the invidious position of being part of a "have" minority in the midst of a "have not" majority. On one occasion the United States found itself alone in asserting the right of private property against an assumed right of governments to nationalize without adequate compensation. ECOSOC (the Economic and Social Council of the UN) is always prepared to hatch ingenious schemes for siphoning off the wealth of the United States for the benefit of "underdeveloped" countries.

A few years ago investigation revealed among United States employees of the UN an abnormally high percentage who took to the Fifth Amendment when questioned about communist affiliations and espionage. It was like pulling teeth to get these people out of their positions, and the UN tribunal sitting on such cases awarded extravagant sums in compensation and severance pay.

Surely it is time to recognize that the high hopes placed in the UN when it was formed have not been realized, that this organization has been useless in most respects, dangerous in some, and competent only for mischief. • • •

DISCARD the operation of freedom, and the principle of order will be productive of disorder.
HELMUT KUHN, *Freedom Forgotten and Remembered*

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FREEDOM and SECURITY in Ur of the Chaldees

R. J. RUSHDOONY

THE PROBLEM of relating responsibility to freedom and security has plagued human society for countless centuries; it remains one of the most pressing burdens on contemporary civilization. Perhaps the most difficult aspect of its solution is man's persistent unwillingness to face the obvious dilemmas involved.

As far back as in Abraham's day, in Ur of the Chaldees, Sumerian society had achieved a balance to the problem which met both the demand for freedom on the part of some as well as the social hunger by others for security of guardianship. The implications of this ancient solution might be unpleasant to modern man, but they are nonetheless inescapable.

Sumerian society by law was divided into three classes, each with clearly defined legal status, privileges, and rights. The upper-class freemen, the "aristocrats," constituted the ruling elite of society. They were the priests, the government officials, and the rank and file of the army. They constituted the privileged group, and were more or less sacrosanct in person. Any act of violence against them entailed a greater penalty than one committed against the middle class or against slaves. They were, in one sense, good examples of the overprivileged aristocrats caricatured by Marxists. But this gives only one side of the picture. The aristocrats were privileged because they bore the burden of maintaining Sumerian society. Life in Church and State was their responsibility; their social function gave them a utility which made them indispensable to the whole State.

Because they shouldered the responsibility, they therefore had a corresponding freedom. It was the aristocrat who fought and died for Sumerian liberty in the army, and was hence entitled to a greater freedom under law. He won his freedom by responsibility and accountability. When he violated the law, his punishment was severe. When he went to doctors, lawyers, and others, he paid double the fee of the middle class. Because he bore the main burden of society and assumed a greater responsibility, and legal and social account-

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ability, freedom became his prerogative.

The middle class, while free, had less social accountability and responsibility. No military service was required of them except in emergencies, such as the invasion of the land. The penalties of the law were less severe against the middle class and were essentially financial rather than personal. They were the traders, the doctors, lawyers, and other professional men, the farmers, the great body of freemen, able to function freely under law, advance their fortunes, and further their enterprises, but always beneath the law and government of the upper class. As a class, they were personally responsible and personally accountable; but because their social responsibility and accountability were limited, as compared to the upper class, their status was therefore subordinate and their participation in government limited.

Slaves were the third class, into which many were born and others came as prisoners of war and because of debt and poverty. They had absolutely no part in the life of the State, having no personal responsibility. They could be bought and sold, could be punished severely if they became fugitives, and were legal property. On the other hand, slaves had some very real privileges. They were secure – in the sense that a ward or a prisoner is secure. They could protest their sale and submit the question to court; they could carry on business enterprises on the side and save money. They could marry, and if the wife were free, be assured of their children's freedom under law. They could purchase their freedom and enter the middle class if they had the means. The Sumerian slave had maximum security under the law, but he had little social responsibility and little freedom. To gain a greater measure of freedom and social responsibility, he had to forsake his status as a ward and live the more exposed life of the middle class.

The New Slavery

The significance of Sumerian society is obvious: Lust for security is incompatible with the requirements of responsibility and freedom. Modern man tries to gain all three by means of government action; he abolishes class lines and personal slavery, only to create slavery on a vastly greater scale. The world has not otherwise seen slavery on so vast a scope as that under Nazi German and Soviet Russian governments, and, in increasing degree, in the welfare economies of contemporary States. The omnipotent State becomes the new slaveholder, and the citizenry the slaves; and it becomes impos-

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sible for any man to escape into freedom because of the vast extension of political power. The price of the guaranteed life, sometimes called security, is always the surrender of freedom and responsibility, the surrender of true accountability, to the fiat will of the State. What the Sumerians recognized in antiquity, modern man perversely refuses to accept, hoping against hope to have his cake and eat it, too.

But the lust for security destroys itself; no man is more insecure than the slave of the modern State; for he will tolerate no free classes, as did the Sumerian slave, to furnish protection for him. Freedom and responsibility still involve, as in Ur, an exposure to problems, insecurities, and social burdens which are often pressing and heavy. But, in final analysis, no greater security ever appears than the security born of freedom and responsibility.

The Sumerians exacted a price from those who yearned for security. So does the modern State. As it assumes the burden of welfare and social provisions for its citizenry, the State declares in effect that the price for subsidy is the surrender of freedom and responsibility. The State becomes increasingly free to act omnipotently, and the citizen increasingly a slave. The freedom of Sumerian aristocrats and the middle class was the guarantee of the society's basic health, and the ground for the security of all. But the freedom of the modern State from an independent citizenry spells slavery and ruin for all. The issue remains unchanged. Ultimately, the issue between freedom and security is clearly seen as responsibility versus slavery. Modern man finds responsibility burdensome; he will shortly discover that slavery is even more burdensome and less rewarding. • • •

A Change Has Occurred

IMPLICIT IN AMERICAN THOUGHT from the beginning until a few years ago was this: "Government is the responsibility of a self-governing people."

That doctrine has been swept away; only the elders remember it. Now, in the name of democracy, it is accepted as a political fact that *people are the responsibility of government.*

The forms of republican government survive; the character of the state has changed.

GARET GARRETT, *The People's Pottage*

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THE RIGHT TO WORK

CHARLES I. FADDIS

THE ACTION of the Senate Rackets Committee in exposing the financial irregularities of Dave Beck and his henchmen of the Teamsters' union may serve a useful purpose in protecting the members of unions from further abuses of autocratic power; but it offers little hope that the constitutional right of a man to work without paying tribute to such racketeers will be protected. Even less hope is offered that, in case of strikes, the personal and property rights of employers and the rights of the general public will be protected.

There is no question but that many cities, as well as other political units, are ruled by an invisible empire composed of a combination of organized labor and organized crime. Such rulership is sustained by the power of labor bosses to compel men to join unions in order to earn a livelihood. An attempt to extend the jurisdiction of this empire brought about the investigation of Beck and others.

The political power of this empire has hung like a pall over Washington, D. C., and many of our state capitals for more than two decades. As a member of Congress from 1933 through 1942, I saw its campaign of threats, intimidation, and browbeating result in the passing of much unjust and financially unsound legislation. I witnessed its corrupting influence upon legislators who were frightened into intellectual dishonesty in order to retain their seats.

As a member of Congress I voted for the Wagner Labor Relations Act, hoping it would promote industrial peace. It proved to be an industrial Munich. Power-mad labor barons strove with each other to construct petty empires with ruthlessness and utter disregard for the public welfare. They instituted reigns of terror in many industrial districts. Private property was seized and destroyed; intimidation, assault, and even murder were employed to accomplish the desired end. Even while the nation was at war on two

Mr. Faddis, now a businessman in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, served as a Representative in the United States Congress from 1933 until 1942, when he resigned to enter active service as a Colonel in the United States Army.

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fronts, these predatory tactics did not cease. While American soldiers were fighting and dying, the bosses of labor were just as busily, if much less valiantly, striving to extend and consolidate their power.

The bosses of labor have usurped and are exercising powers which no one in a free nation – not even elected officials – should be allowed to possess and exercise. This nation is a representative Republic operating under a written constitution which is the basic and fundamental law of the land – the guardian of all of our rights. These rights were not conferred upon us by the Constitution. Neither were they given to us by any administration or political party, nor any sect, nor any organization – labor or otherwise. They are those inalienable rights mentioned in the Declaration of Independence. Their possession is not limited to the members of any party, or sect, or race, or creed. They belong to everyone – nonunion as well as union.

These rights, so highly regarded by the Founding Fathers of this nation, were set forth in a separate section of the Constitution in the form of ten amendments. Most certainly it is the intent of the Constitution, both in spirit and letter, that no power shall exist to rob the people of their individual rights.

The Right To Work

The most basic and fundamental right of a man is the right to work. It may well be his only honest means of earning a living. The exercise of this right, of course, depends upon his finding work he can perform in a manner satisfactory to his employer. If a man is deprived of the right to seek employment, all other rights and privileges presumed to be his are of no value and do not really exist. This right cannot lawfully be curtailed or abridged by any governmental authority in this nation, except as a man may be drafted for military service, or punished for crime after due conviction, or as his employment may adversely affect the national security.

When our constituted government may not limit a man's right to work on account of his membership or lack of membership in any social, fraternal, political, religious, racial, or labor union, why should any other organization have the power to do so? Nevertheless, the right to work is now being denied men who do not belong to organized labor. Labor organizations are thereby exercising powers which would involve risk of revolution if exercised by government agencies.

A man may criticize the President of the United States and hold his job, for all the President can

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do about it; but quite often men are expelled from labor unions for criticizing a union official or union affairs. Without a union card, they are deprived of employment in any industry where a closed shop exists. From the legal reasoning of organizations which pretend much concern for civil liberties, it would seem that the labor bosses derive their autocratic power to punish critics from the same Bill of Rights which denies a like power to the federal government.

The organized claimants of civil liberties seem curiously unconcerned over the violation of personal and property rights of all classes of citizens during strikes. Such matters as assault, arson, seizure of property, blocking of public highways, overturning of automobiles, burning of trucks and their cargoes, often involving persons and property in no way connected with the strike, seem to concern them not at all.

Actually, most violations of civil liberties involve men who are deprived of their right to work or of the proper management of their property by these same self-styled liberals, the bosses of organized labor, who are in reality the most pronounced of reactionaries. With all of the "liberality" of the closed shop and all of the "tolerance" of the picket line, they are endeavoring to solidify the most ironbound autocracy this hemisphere has known in two centuries. In their arrogance and greed they do not hesitate to thrust their rackets into every phase and activity of human life, from the hospital assistants in the birth of the child to the pallbearers who carry the man to the grave, and the sexton who fills it in.

The Right To Strike

Not since the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution has there been any question of a man's right to refuse to work under conditions displeasing to him. He has the undeniable right to refuse to work, either alone or collectively with his fellow workers. It is his right to strike – but this does not constitute a license for the commission of violence, assault, arson, assassination, riot, anarchy, robbery, or extortion. In striking he must still be accountable to society for observance of the law and due regard for the rights of others.

The interest of the general public in any industrial dispute is greater than the combined interests of the two contending parties. It is high time this fact be considered. The consumer pays the bill. Let there be no mistake about that. Wage hikes come from his pocket and not from the treasury of the industrial concern. Strikes have

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detrimental effects upon other industries. Public treasuries are called upon to furnish assistance for those either directly or indirectly thrown out of employment. Often citizens are deprived of the services of public utilities. Lawless disorder denies taxpayers the proper use of public thoroughfares and property. So, it is clear that there is a vast area of public interest in industrial disputes – an interest that has long been ignored by the majority of public officials.

The "Tolerance" of the Picket Line

Certainly, a man must be allowed to exercise his right to belong to a union without jeopardizing his opportunity for employment. Along with this must go his right to cease work when he so desires. To force a man to work against his will would be unthinkable as well as unconstitutional; it would indeed be slavery. Just as certainly, a man must be protected in his right to continue to work, if he so desires, without joining a union or submitting to the demands of union bosses. Otherwise, this would be slavery.

The right to picket comes from the provisions of Article I of the Bill of Rights, which provides for freedom of speech and of peaceable assemblage. The courts have held time and again that freedom of speech cannot be used as a license for slander, abuse, or untrue statements. Assembly is qualified at the source by the word peaceable. When assembly is not peaceful, it is a riot. The right to picket is a basic constitutional right. Nevertheless, by no logical nor legal interpretation can this or any other provision of the Bill of Rights be held to constitute a license to exercise violence, assault, arson, or anarchy. Much less can any provision of the Bill of Rights be interpreted to mean that the seizure or destruction of private property by picketing is a lawful act. It is quite idle to pretend, in the majority of cases today, that picketing is peaceable.

Some will say that the injunction is a restraint against unlawful acts during strikes. This is not true. The injunction usually does not come until after the commission of unlawful acts. To the business that has suffered heavy financial loss by blasting or burning of property, or to the individual who has suffered assault or has had his home bombed, an injunction is no protection and poor consolation. Prompt and positive action by those charged with law enforcement is necessary to protect the rights of everyone. Unfortunately, this is seldom forthcoming until after much damage has been wrought, and even then is generally used to prevent more damage

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rather than to apprehend and punish offenders.

The political power of organized labor seems to have convinced many governors, mayors, judges, and prosecuting attorneys that a man who assaults another in a labor dispute, or a striker who dynamites a coal tipple, should not be held accountable for his unlawful acts. Generally, little or no effort is made to punish such offenders. Even those arrested are usually released on nominal bail and no further action taken. A little delay to give the goon squads time for their "brainwashing" of both victims and witnesses, and identification of the guilty parties is almost impossible.

Let a motorist park his car in a restricted area and the police will promptly hale him into court; but a dozen men can overturn his car and burn it while he is trying to go to work, and the police will be too blind to recognize any of them. A man who desires to work during a strike is entitled to all of the protection of the law, for himself, family, and property while so doing – even to the protection of the Army, if necessary. An industrial concern which wishes to operate during a strike is entitled to protection against the depredations of strikers, just as it is entitled to protection against the depredations of foreign enemies. A man in Pennsylvania is just as much entitled to protection against the thug or goon on the picket line as is a man in South Carolina against a hooded Klansman. For every man assaulted in the South in racial disorders, hundreds have been assaulted in the North in industrial disorders.

In awarding government contracts, provisions are inserted against racial or religious discrimination in employment. If that is right and just and in accord with the principles of democracy, then it would seem equally appropriate to guard against discrimination on grounds of union affiliation or lack thereof. However, the closed or union shop prevails in most of the establishments where the money of taxpayers is being spent. For every man barred from employment in these shops because of race, color, or religion, there will be many barred for not belonging to a union.

The "Liberality" of the Closed Shop

The closed shop is a violation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. There can be no doubt that certain workers in any industry belong to the union only under compulsion. The closed shop places these individuals in involuntary servitude to the bosses of the union that they must join in order to earn a living. They must

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pay whatever dues, fines, or assessments are imposed upon them. Their actions while working and their prospects for promotion are largely under the same control. They must strike and do picket duty when so ordered, however much their desire to do otherwise. In many unions they have neither the right of free speech nor secret ballot.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution denies to the states the power to make or to enforce any law abridging the privileges or immunities of United States citizens or denying to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Can there be any question but that the privileges and immunities of citizens are abridged when they are forced to join a labor union in order to secure employment? The states are forbidden these abusive powers which labor bosses have assumed and are exercising. It is the duty of a state to protect each and every one of its citizens against the exercise of a usurped power denied to the state.

Dictatorships begin by the restriction of the personal and property rights of the few for the pretended benefit of the many. In a short time the rights of the many are restricted for the benefit of the few, and these few are the leaders. Thus have labor bosses attained their power to impose the closed or union shop upon the workers of this nation, grimly reminding us that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The Taft-Hartley Bill was enacted as the inevitable reaction to abuses of union power. This legislation took from the labor barons only a fraction of the power which they had usurped, but it warned them that they no longer had absolute control over Congress. The trend of public opinion was further reflected in the "right to work" laws enacted in various states.

Right To Work Laws

Many of the arguments of the union bosses against "right to work laws" are strange indeed when compared to the principles of democracy and the spirit and letter of the Constitution. They contend that such laws would destroy labor unions. Such argument assumes that labor unions are vested interests with vested rights – which of course they are not. To argue that "right to work laws" would destroy unions is simply an admission that labor unions can exist only by compulsion and not by virtue of their true value.

Union bosses further argue that this nation is a democracy (which it is not), operating under majority rule; hence, if a majority of

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the workers wish to belong to unions, such membership should be compulsory for all. But such regimentation reflects totalitarian procedure. Should it once be established that a man must belong to a labor union before he could secure employment, then compulsory membership in one church and in one political party would soon follow. The end of economic freedom would mean regimentation of all of man's activities and the end of all personal liberty.

The suggestion of majority rule regarding membership in labor organizations does violence to the concept of representative government for the protection of both minority and majority rights. The exercise of the will of the majority in our form of government is limited by the express terms of the Constitution, placed there for the protection of the rights, liberties, property, privileges, and immunities of all.

There are no grounds for the contention that "right to work laws" restrict the rights of labor organizations and their members. Such laws must be constitutional, or they cannot stand. They cannot encroach upon any individual or property rights or curtail any individual liberties. The unions as such, and each of their members as individuals, are still possessed of all of their rights. They have full liberty to do anything except injure the persons or property of others. If they ask for more than that, they seek license, not liberty.

Protection of Property

Article IV of the Bill of Rights protects the people, their houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable search and seizure. Article V of the Bill of Rights, besides protecting communists and thieves, also is meant to protect honest men, lest they be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. But these Articles have woefully failed to protect people and property from seizure by the labor bosses.

A man's right to work is at once an individual right and a form of property – the only valuable property which many have during the starting period of productive life. As a citizen and a taxpayer, a man is just as much entitled to the protection of his right to work as he is to the protection of his home or his children.

The State Is To Protect

Under our system of government the protection of the rights, liberties, and property of the people is primarily a function of the state in which the protection is needed. The state exists simply to promote the welfare and to protect the rights of its citizens. It has no

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other legitimate purpose. It possesses the necessary police power, and its duty is to so exercise this power as to protect everyone within its jurisdiction from any abridgement by any power whatsoever of the rights and liberties guaranteed under the Constitution.

The usurpation of power on the part of the labor bosses in many cases has had the effect of creating a super state within a state, with the power to assess, tax, arrest, fine, or otherwise punish its subjects, with no appeal possible. Such a movement ought to be recognized and dealt with for what it is: an organized attempt to overthrow the duly constituted government of the United States by force and violence.

When governmental powers and duties of defending lives and property have been perverted through judicial interpretation and unwise legislation, and when powers forbidden to government have been usurped by labor bosses, it is evident that few persons understand the dangerous implications of the situation. Correction can be expected only as fast as individuals will take the trouble to discover why it is to their advantage to treat with respect the persons and property of others, why government should not be used to grant favors to some at the expense of others, and why it is economically and morally unsound to join an organization for the purpose of denying freedom to peaceful persons.

Liberties are nibbled from the people one at a time, as rats nibble an ear of corn, grain by grain. When only the cob of oppression remains, then, indeed, will the people deplore their loss. • • •

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

The Tyrannous Majority

EVER SINCE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT APPEARED, it has been recognized that majority rule can be as tyrannous as any other. The founders of democratic nations coupled the principle of majority rule with that of limited powers, because they knew that there would be no freedom in a state where 51 per cent of the people could wield absolute authority over the other 49 per cent.

If this is true of the state, it is surely true of the labor union, the only type of private organization that shares with the state the power to exercise authority over all within its range, whether or not they have performed a voluntary act of membership and allegiance.

The Guaranty Survey, April 1956

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The Duty to Interpose

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE of James Jackson Kilpatrick's *The Sovereign States: Notes of a Citizen of Virginia* (Regnery, $5.00. 307 pp.) is the attempt to integrate white and Negro schools below the Mason-Dixon line. But, while Mr. Kilpatrick (who happens to be the editor of the Richmond *News Leader*) is very much at home in dealing with local issues, this is not the work of a purely local mind. Like John Calhoun before him, Mr. Kilpatrick can only wage a local fight when his immediate desires are in tune with universal postulates. Thus a book which had its origins in the Southern reaction to Chief Justice Warren's desegregation decision becomes a grand essay on the whole underlying theory of the American Constitution. The message of *The Sovereign States* is fully as important to a citizen of Connecticut who is being taxed to subsidize the electric power consumed in Tennessee as it is to a housewife with a child in the fifth grade of a Richmond, Virginia, grammar school.

Mr. Kilpatrick describes himself as a "Tenth Amendment conservative," meaning that he takes seriously the constitutional provision which says that all "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." He has searched the Constitution from its preamble to its latest amendment, and he can find nowhere in it a phrase, a clause, or even a justified implication, which gives the federal government the right to prescribe educational modes in local communities. True, the Fourteenth Amendment says that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." But the congressional debates of 1866 make it plain that the words about "equal protection" and "privileges and immunities" refer to the Negro's right to hold property, to be a party and witness in court, and to other immemorial civil rights.

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Like the voting qualification, the matter of educational rights remains a "power reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." In Mr. Kilpatrick's opinion the Fourteenth Amendment can be taken to imply a guarantee to "substantially equal schools, not to the same or identical schools." And to buttress his contention Mr. Kilpatrick notes that Congress, at the very time when it was debating the Fourteenth Amendment, enacted a law establishing segregated schools in Washington and Georgetown "for the sole use of colored children." Furthermore, two of the states which ratified the Fourteenth Amendment established racially separate schools "within two years after the amendment had been proclaimed, while it was still fresh in everyone's mind . . ."

The States Agreed

If this were all there were to Mr. Kilpatrick's book, it would stand as an interesting argument on the legislative intents of the immediate post-Civil War period. But Mr. Kilpatrick has considerably more on his mind than contested interpretations. To get a running start, Mr. Kilpatrick notes that the Constitution was the result of a compact – not of "we, the people," but of the people as organized into thirteen sovereign states. What the delegates from the states surrendered to the federal government had mainly to do with broad common citizenship, with state relations to each other as states and with the "power of the border" in dealing with foreign nations. Thus the states agreed on the mechanics of representation and on joining a general free trade area under a single federal currency. They relinquished the control of foreign affairs to the President and Congress. They also wrote many prohibitions of power into the compact, and they certainly did not agree to hand over to a general government the power to put things not enumerated in the Constitution on the list of crimes.

Efforts To Interpose

Recapitulating the history of States' Rights, Mr. Kilpatrick discovers that every important section of the country has insisted on upholding its own conception of them at different times. Virginia and Kentucky fought for free speech and a free press when they adopted resolutions against the Alien and Sedition Acts of John Adams' presidency. New England refused its militia to the federal government in the early stages of the War of 1812, and did its level best to make the embargo on sea trade a dead letter from its very inception in 1807. When the Supreme Court ruled against the

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right of Maryland to tax the Bank of the United States, Ohio went gaily ahead with an enactment which levied a tax of $50,000 a year on each of the bank's two branches in Ohio. When the Bank refused to pay the money, a deputy state auditor leaped over a counter in Chillicothe and helped himself to $100,000 in paper and specie.

The States' Rights scene shifted back to the South in the nullification crisis over the so-called Tariff of Abominations. But it quickly jumped again to the North when States from Maine to Wisconsin refused to obey the fugitive slave laws. From then on it was back and forth until the issue of slavery was joined in the Civil War.

Throughout his long recital of the states' efforts to "interpose" against palpable federal infringements of the reserved powers of states and individuals, Mr. Kilpatrick again and again takes note of an anomaly: the Supreme Court, being an agent of the federal government, is in a position to be judge in its own interests in anything involving a quarrel between Washington, D. C., and a state capital. There is no impartial tribunal to which the states can appeal the verdict. This is an unheard of procedure in traditional Anglo-Saxon law. In the case of a 5-4 decision it often gives a single judge the power to override what many conceive to be the plain terms of the Constitution. Since it was the states which created the federal power, should they acquiesce lightly in such tyranny? Mr. Kilpatrick's answer is to stress the duty of a state to "interpose" by objection and noncompliance with a palpably unconstitutional law or judicial interpretation of the law. Objection and noncompliance, he says, need not go to the extreme of armed rebellion; and if there is ever need of force to break an impasse, a contested law could be submitted to the states for acceptance provided three-fourths of them agree.

A Nation of Milquetoasts

Mr. Kilpatrick thinks that most of the people of the states have become Milquetoasts since 1933 – or, indeed, since 1888. Despite the Tenth Amendment and the powers that are reserved to the states and the individual citizens thereof, the federal government has stretched the commerce and the general welfare clauses of the Constitution out of all recognition, thus accomplishing the negation of much of the original compact. Washington can tell a Chicago milk dealer how much he is to charge for milk from Illinois cows. It can tell a citizen of New York that he must pay for a dam in Utah or an electric power line in California. It can punish a

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Pennsylvania farmer for raising wheat in excess of a stated acreage allowance, even if the wheat never appears in interstate commerce. In all of this, the states have remained docile and placid; they have not even supported a few recalcitrant individuals in their objections to federal usurpation of state powers in the economic realm.

It took the Supreme Court's decision in the matter of school integration to revive the old doctrine of interposition in a half-dozen Southern states. With a good deal of pertinence Southerners have objected that the Supreme Court has no power to impose the sociology of Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist who has written a book on race relations in America, on the people of Virginia and Carolina. True, one could argue forever about the validity of the Supreme Court's decision in the light of words about "equal protection of the laws." But it is certainly true, as Kilpatrick says, that the states should not be allowed to "sink into the insignificance of mere administrative suburbs."

Quid Pro Quo

Mr. Kilpatrick has written an absorbing and searching book. But, as a citizen of the South, he is somewhat vulnerable to any Northerner who wants to quote Scripture about the beam and the mote or to raise the issue of *tu quoque*. For the same South which is now up in arms about Yankee arrogance in presuming to prescribe modes of schooling for Southern citizens quite willingly takes money by force from New York and Massachusetts to build steam plants in the Tennessee Valley. This same South cries to heaven for federal support if the price of cotton is threatened. Mr. Kilpatrick obviously does not approve of the willingness of Southerners to twist such things as the commerce and the general welfare clauses in order to gain subsidies at the expense of New York and Massachusetts people. But he might have extended his book to show that there are times when the individual citizen himself must feel he has his own right of interposition "to arrest the progress of the evil."

States' Rights are important. But there are things which no governing body should be permitted to do, no matter what its size. If a Northerner is to be asked to help the South maintain the Calhoun doctrine of the "concurrent majority" in defense of States' Rights, he might reasonably demand a *quid pro quo*: let the South oppose federal encroachment on the individual's right to the produce of his own energy in this matter of general taxes to subsidize such regional favoritisms as the TVA.

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The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Conservatism

By Russell Kirk. New York: Devin-Adair. 122 pp. $2.75

One of the most interesting cultural trends of this decade is the conservative revival. Its first substantial literary product appeared in 1953 when Russell Kirk wrote *The Conservative Mind,* a book which made the ideas of such men as Burke, Adams, Calhoun, Maine, and Lecky come alive. Now, several books later, Professor Kirk brings out a small handbook which, ideally, should have been handed to Woman along with the Nineteenth Amendment when she got the power of the ballot into her possession.

But such a book was not available in 1920. Women voters were showered instead with a spate of lower case liberal literature and George Bernard Shaw got into the act with his *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism.* The results have been somewhat less than utopian. Women have voted alongside of their men and politics has gone from bad to worse. One result is that many women are up in arms about the low estate to which the Republic has fallen – as witness the several active women's organizations along the lines of Pro-America.

Men are the cautious sex, on the average and when it comes to ideas. Being public relations minded, they want to stand in well with their neighbors and business associates. The neighbors and business associates favor free enterprise – with qualifications; they are for limited, constitutional government – with qualifications; and so on. Anyone who comes out flatfootedly for personal rights and limited government, for free enterprise and the market economy, is looked upon as a nonconformist who undermines confidence in Our-Way-of-Life. So the average man tends to play it close to the vest.

But his womenfolk are under no such inhibition. Our *mores* allow woman to hold any ideas she pleases and, if the spirit moves her, to go on the warpath for them. Well, the women are giving forth with war cries, all right. A lot of them do not want any part of the Welfare State; they are alarmed by the socialization which advances no matter which party is in power; they are demanding literature which supplies them with the facts and theories they need to make them skillful expositors of the case for freedom. They will welcome this book. *Guide to Conservatism* spells out the case simply and persuasively, and although it is not the whole story of freedom, it is an important part of that story.

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Modern conservatism, as Russell Kirk expounds it, is the political philosophy which arose late in the eighteenth century to confront the fanatic visionaries typified by the French revolutionaries. Its development in the American tradition is characterized by several convictions. Foremost among these is the belief that political problems cannot be rightly understood or resolved apart from moral and religious truths. These fundamental principles are not to be confused with "abstractions," however, which are "absolute political dogmas divorced from practical experience and particular circumstances." The conservative understands that the fundamental principles which undergird a particular culture are not improvised for the occasion; that "our civil social order—the complex of moral habits, political establishments, customary laws, and economic ways – has been erected over many centuries by a painful and laborious process of trial and error."

Thus the conservative sternly sets his face against the planner armed with political power, who would blithely turn this sensitive structure inside out. He resists the planner because he dislikes uniformity; instead he would encourage variety and diversity in society, believing in different rewards for different abilities. The conservative, although he is not a materialist – and precisely because he is not – believes in private property and a free economy. "What we mean by the phrase 'property rights,'" says Kirk, "is really the right of human beings to possess and acquire property. Property rights are human rights. They are, indeed, among the most important of human rights." And further, "a free economy is essential to the preservation of freedom in general: to intellectual freedom, to civil liberties, to representative government, to freedom of private character."

In the interests of personal liberty and private character the conservative tries to keep political power checked and balanced, limited by constitutions and customs. He encourages voluntary associations and local attachments and the importance of the family. Although he resists innovation for its own sake, he allows for the orderly growth and development of persons and their institutions: "All human institutions alter to some extent from age to age, for slow change is the means of conserving society, just as it is the means for renewing the human body."

This is a pertinent tract for the times, and for the intelligent man as well as his mate.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

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HOW INCA SOCIALISM CAME TO NORTH AMERICA

Nowhere Was Somewhere

By Arthur E. Morgan. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946. 234 pp. $3.00

Some interesting facts in this book connect the socialism of contemporary North America with that of the Inca Indians during their era of political enslavement.

It seems that one Raphael Hythloday went on three of Amerigo Vespucci's four voyages. On Vespucci's last voyage in 1503, Hythloday stayed to make a trip overland to visit the Peruvian Inca Indians, whose society operated from, roughly, 1100 to 1550.

There Hythloday found what was a highly developed communist society. The Emperor – "Inca" – had absolute power over all persons and property. All land was collectively owned, with the government granting rights to its use for which the tenants were forced to pay a rental tax in the form of labor. So long as they were able to hold these controls, the dictators were able to maintain themselves in power.

The Inca society had no money. Almost no private trading occurred, other than slight amounts of local barter. All general distribution was in the hands of the central government, and everybody's production was taken over for that purpose. It was gathered into central warehouses and distributed "as needed" without money or price.

Employment and work – even marriage – were strictly controlled by the government, including the place of work and the work gang to which each was assigned. A system of universal military training prevailed and supported their vast military conquests.

A social security system in extreme degree was in operation.

The Incas did not even have a written language. The numerical records of the government were kept by means of knotted cords. They knew nothing of the wheel, the axle, or the arch for building.

Only a simple scale of living prevailed, since ambition had all but disappeared in a system where achievement was not possible. The long success of the Incas' dictatorial communism seems to have been due to their genius in preventing their subjects from wanting much or aspiring to attainment and progress.

Finally, this despotic and far-flung empire suddenly collapsed. Except for the fact that the people's spirit was gone, it would have collapsed sooner – perhaps centuries sooner.

This is the society which fascinated Hythloday and which he

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went overland to study. It had considerable appeal to this foreign observer from a part of the world that had known little except feudal tyranny.

Now let us trace matters backward from the present, over a bit of history.

In our time we find that Adolf Berle, one of the most intimate and long-lasting advisors of the federal government during its heaviest surge into socialism a quarter century ago, grew up in a home where Edward Bellamy was well-known. Berle's father was a personal friend and disciple of Bellamy, who had become a prophet of light in their home. Bellamy's book, *Looking Backward,*[1] was "somewhat like a family Bible" in the Berle home.

The close parallel between the New Deal economic policies and the philosophy of *Looking Backward,* says Morgan, "seems to preclude mere chance." We can see why.

Looking Backward bears unmistakable similarity to a description of the Inca society of ancient Peru. There can be little doubt that Bellamy was strongly influenced by More's *Utopia.*[2] The close parallel between these two books is unmistakable. Circumstances give strong evidence that *Utopia* was an important source for *Looking Backward.*

The close parallel between the pattern of *Utopia* and the communal society of the Incas in ancient Peru is also unmistakable.[3] In fact, Morgan says on page 34: "There are several phases of the evidence which support the theory that More's book in the main is not a fictitious story, but a record of a trip to Peru and what was observed there."

More's *Utopia* had been, however, accepted as purely fictional by Europeans. Apparently this was because the historical record of the Incas, which the book clearly reflected, was almost totally unknown to Europeans of that time. And yet, instead of being a *nowhere* (of which the Greek is *utopia*), it has later become evident that More's design in *Utopia* was patterned closely after the Inca society.

It appears certain from their association that More obtained in person from Hythloday the basic information which became the design for his *Utopia.* Apparently, More had made the acquaintance of Hythloday while on a mission to Flanders for Henry VIII, around 1514.

If More was reporting the pat-

[1]Boston, 1888.
[2]Original Latin version, 1516.
[3]For an excellent study of the Inca civilization, see *L'Empire Socialiste des Inka* by Louis Baudin, 1928.

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tern of the Inca society, why did he portray it as a fantasy rather than as a fact? He was apparently not the kind of a man to write solely to entertain. He was a lawyer with a high respect for correct reporting of facts, and one theory is that he may not have dared report as fact, under his name, the story of Hythloday's which he had not verified and which was new in his day; that in order to report it at all, he felt he must make no personal claims for its validity. This he apparently did, even though, as William Henry Campbell asserts, More repudiated the major doctrine he described in *Utopia;* that he asserted to Hythloday that men cannot live well where all things are held in common, because "every man will withdraw his hand from labour."[1]

From all this information which has come to light, indicating that More's *Utopia* appears to be a reporting of fact, the circle seems complete – from the Incas to Hythloday to More to Bellamy to Berle to the New Deal and, finally, to our continuing, growing socialism.

So Vespucci's voyages seem to have led to discovering communism as well as to discovering America, in a chain of events that were all but lost from our knowledge. How altered would have been the course of events if More's account had been portrayed as fact rather than as fancy – after adequate checking on it, of course – together with a prophetic and thorough explanation of the reasons why it would doubtless collapse, as More seemed to believe?

F. A. HARPER

[1]See Campbell's *More's Utopia and His Social Teaching.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., 1930.

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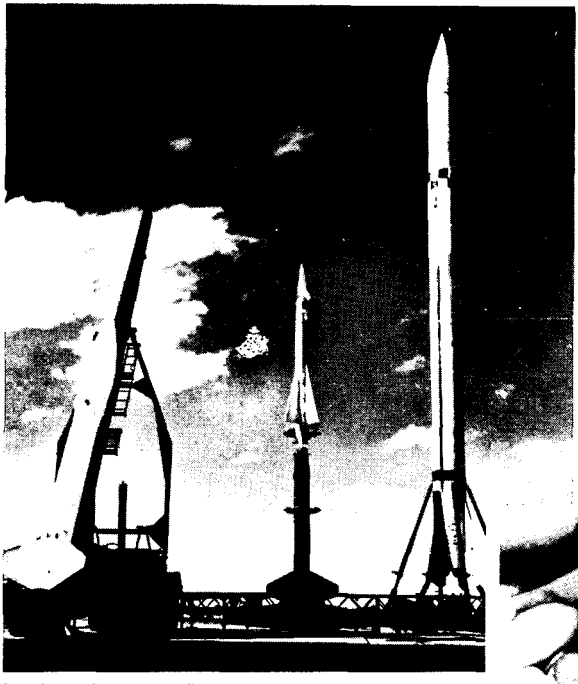
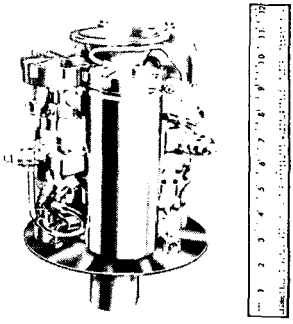
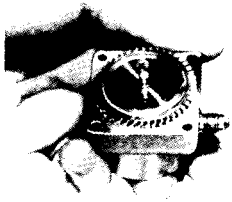


Army's Production Missiles include the "Honest John" *(left)*, the "Nike" *(center)* and the "Corporal" *(right)*. It is estimated that Congressional appropriations for missile construction in 1956 will be close to a billion dollars.



This is one of the Thompson "Muscles" built to help keep guided missiles "on target" with uncanny accuracy. The self-contained auxiliary power plant shown here is only 12 inches high yet it produces approximately 10 horsepower in electrical and hydraulic energy. This power is used for operating the guidance controls, radar mechanism and intricate computing gear of the missile.



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